

THE Quintessence of Wit,

being

A corrant comfort of conceites,
Maximies, and poleticke deuises, selected
and gathered together by
Francisco Sansouino.

Wherin is set foorth sundrye
excellent and wise sentences, wor-
thie to be regarded and
followed.

Translated out of the Italian tung,
and put into English for the benefit of all
those that please to read and vnderstand the
works and worth of a worthy
writer.

AT LONDON
Printed by *Edward Allde*, dwel-
ling without Cripple-gate at the signe
of the gilded Cuppe.
1590.

THE Quintessence of Wit

being
A constant consort of conceits,
And a perpetual supply of jests,
And a perpetual repository of
all the wit and humour of the age.

WIT is the food of
the mind, and the
fuel of the soul.
It is the light of
the eye, and the
heat of the heart.

It is the
flower of the
field, and the
fruit of the tree.
It is the
diamond of the
mine, and the
pearl of the sea.

LONDON:
Printed by the
University of
Oxford, in the
Clarendon Press.
1650.



¶ To the right Worshiptull
Maister Robert Cicell Esquire, one
of the Sonnes of the right hono-
rable the Lord high treasurer
of England.

IN reading and reuiewing
the manifold discourses and famous
works of sundry worthie writers, (right
Worshiptull) some translated out of
French, Italian, and some reduced in-
to our English tongue, by learned Lati-
nestes and Grecians, (whose studies
and labours benefites a multitude) I
happened on a book written to Rodolphus the second, (a mighty,
graue and wise Emperour) which book treated on so many mat-
ters, and touched with quick conceits and sentences, such a num-
ber of rare arguments and politicke deuises, that it seemed not
only a register of wit, but a naturall quintessence of knowledge,
gathered and collected out of the highest and diuine spirites of
Philosophie, the value and varietie of the worke is so excellent:
that it argues of it selfe to be a rich store-house of precious com-
poundes, fraught and furnished full of deep insight and profound
reasons. Then to hide or keep secret the same worke, were an un-
pardonable error, and a wilfull offence and fault committed a-
gainst the common societie of men, that dayly and hourly are
nourished and fedde with the sweet and sugred taste of Histories,
and understanding of true nouelties, penned out with painefull
studie, and printed to exercise wise iudgements with masters of
great moments. So vnder your fauour good Sir, the hope of your

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towardnes and good bringing vp, and the desire I suppose you haue to aduance learning and good letters, (the sensible sap of life) commaunds me by a bond of causes, to honor you with a work not only worthy the reading, but likewise worthie the noting and bearing in minde, a burthen so pleasant to embrace and delectable to carry in memory, as shall unload and make light a heauie hart, and discharge a waighy imagination of disquiet thoughts. For the dissolving of doubts, and discovering of secret sentences: breedes a lightsomnes in man, and puts away the wearines of time, and labour of the spirites, such care and foresight of our commoditie had our fore-fathers and auncient Writers, that alwaies they filled the Printers shops full of great vollumes, and maintained the worldes knowledge with an innumerable number of booke, and neuer in any age booke were more sought for and better esteemed (if the authors thereof be of sound iudgement) then in these our flourishing daies, where flowing wittes abound and reapes the reward of well dooing and vertuous disposition. The praise, preferments, great fame and good fortunes they haue found: is such a gazing glasse to looke in, that thousands thereby seek after vertue and learning, to shun the rebuke of vicious idlenes and sloath, none more disliked then ignorant Idiots, nor more admired then the worthie wits of our world. Who is not abashed to follow a painted shadowe? and who takes not great glorie to waite where some substance is looked for? though the wise for their wisdom are enuied of the foolish, yet the fond for their folly are derided and pointed at by all kinde of people, wisdom is honoured in his meaneest attire, and fondnes is but scorned in his brauest garments, the bare presentation of the honorable, brings gladnes to the beholders, and the proud pomp of the vain-glorious, are both irksome and disdained, golde is more made off for his goodnes then his cullour, and men look more into the perfectnes of things then to the outward apparance, this booke though it be printed in common paper, yet was it not penned in ordinarie discourse, it spreadeth it self like a tree that hath many braunches, whereon some bowe is greater then another, and yet the fruite

Dedicatorie.

fruit of them all are alike in taste, because no soure crabbes were grafted where sweet Apples should growe, nor no bitter Oranges can be gathered where sweet Powngarnets are planted, the excellency of this fruit, must be senciibly felt and tasted with a well seasoned minde and iudgement, and the delicatenes thereof must be chewed and chewed with a chosen and specciall spirit of understanding, not greedily mumbled up and eaten as a wanton eates Peares that neuer were pared, Philosophie and farre fetched knowledge may not be handled and entertained like a Canterbury tale, nor used like a riding rime of sir Topis, (this spoken to the generall iudgements of men) for I know to whose hands this woork is commended, and I doubt not the vsage thereof, because I see some good sparkes of a noble Father, shining in the eyes of a happie Sonne, wherefore this booke needes not feare (as I hope and beleene) who barketh against it, nor the writer thereof (if he were aliue) needes not to doubt who looketh on his labours, for generally and absolutely (in a most louing phrase and manner) he bountifully hath imparted his secrets to a multitude, and bestowed a great deale of thankful paines on the wise, if the worlde be not ingrate and forgetfull of a good turn offred, he setteth foorth to sale, no speeches farsed full of fables, but presenteth to our viewe (in an open manner) heapes of hidden secrets, that none but noble and venerable authors did euer open before, and in a manner leaues neither poeie, warre, pollicy, practice nor any thing vntouched, that is fit for a publike state or common weale to knowe, his golden booke beautified with a thousand graces, is translated out of the Italian tung, though not in such beauty as becomes the grauitie thereof, yet stripped gentlie out of his gaye garments, it is clothed and plainly apparelled in such comely weeds and cleane robes, as euery parte and proportion of the booke may easily be seene and well perceined, and albeit that a fine Italian in an English groce gaberdine is not fashioned in all formes to please euery strangers fancye, yet the personage may be passable when all comelines is vsed for the setting forth of the same. Thus presuming that Francis Sanssouino is no whit

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disfigured to walke openly in such English habit as is found fitte for him (crauing fauour that he may speak his owne minde) I hope you of curtesie will let him passe through our Countrey, that all kinde of people may see and heare what opinion he was of; in matters of state and mighty affaires of this worlde, the booke is dedicated vnto you, for many good considerations, one is that by your meanes a second life may be breathed into Sansouinoes collections through your good liking, and being reuiued (or awaked out of a long sleep) When it lay dead from our common knowledge, it may shewe some such singular spirit: as shall reioice both men of greatest capacitie and meanest iudgements, so committing the worthines of the matter to your censure and protection, (alwaies hoping my good will and good meaning shall be well accepted) I take my leaue, leaving you to the blessing of God, and to iudge fauourably of my boldenes, and wishing you encrease of woorship and credit, euen such as your selfe can desire.

Yours at commaundement it that
he may.

Robert Hitchcock.

¶ *Francisco Sanfouino* to the Empe-
rour *Rodolph* the second.

Most happie and fortunate Emperour, there is nothing more necessary for a Prince in this world the Histories, for so much as being the mirrours & maisters of our life: they shew and teach vs what the gouernment of a cittie and Prouince ought to be, what lawes we ought to institute & cause our subiects to obserue, in what manner to increase & maintain diuine worships, in what sort to exercise morall vertues, and how to reape benefit of counsell in our affaires of importance: heerof it came to passe, that histories were called of wise men most noble, for their antiquitie, for so much as by them we receiue the creation of this huge worlde, and the originall of mans generation. For their perpetuities: because they haue endured with the world, and shall continually endure, alwaies writing vpon humane Actions, for the benefit of our posteritie. For their dignitie: in respect they besit to be read and known, as the proper art and science of Emperours, of Kings, of common weales, and of great Lords and captaines, for their generalities: considering that in histories we finde written, in euery tung, in euery Prouince, and in euery age, those things that haue falne out either well or euil. For their iustice: because they do honour and dishonour, whose euery doth merite & deserue the same: giuing due praise to the excellencie of vertue & valour, and dispraise to the vile filth of vice and idlenes. For their subiect: for that they do entreate of great things, the acts of great men which they haue accomplished to the intent to enlarge, to preserue, and to sway rule. For their end: because the same is no other, the to sacrifice truth to eternitie. For their profit: for the making vs to beholde thinges past, we may prudently by their meanes foresee that which is to come, and therefore it came to passe in former & auncient time, many excellent Princes and Emperours not content with the glory they had gotten through their wise and valiant acts: did greatly desire also to ioine vnto their name this other glory, that is: eloquently to haue written histories, as did *Augustus*, after him *Adrianus*, and finally *Gordianus* the predecessours of your Maiestie. To this therefore hauing applied my studie, not to obserue onely what the cuntries, the mountaines, and the

Francisco Sansouino to the Emperour Rodolph.

the riuers and floods of this world are, or to haue knowledge, how embassages were sent, of Parliaments, of the managing and handling of affaires, or to vnderstand the voyages of armies, their order in ranging battailes, their encamping, their Stratagems, their besseegings, their expugnations & their victories, but rather to drawe and suck out of all these particular things, the sap, the sweete and marrow, reducing them into precepts, for the commoditie of great persons, that being otherwise busied, neither haue they time, neither can they well, continually apply theselues in reading of histories, which was the onely motiue that made me take in hand this book, wherinto if any prince or gouernour will looke, he may (as though it were in a bright christal glasse) incontinently beholde the substance that fully is contained, in the volumes of the most commendable auncient and moderne writers. And for so much as so worthie and noble food appertaines vnto Princes, and for that amongst Princes, your Emperiall Maiestie is of highest degree and dignitie: therfore comming toward your Maiestie with no lesse affection of minde, then that wherewithall I was enflamed, when I applied my selfe about this profitable enterprise: I present the same most humbly at the feete of your Maiestie, to the intent, that with your sacred name, due & perfect honor may be giuen to this worke, since it shalbe vnder the protection of your Emperiall maiestie, who carying in his noble person, the greatnes and felicity of so many famous Emperours and Heroes, of that worthie house of *Austridge*, which through a long course of worlds, haue gouerned and shall gouern heerafter the sacred Empire, who being no lesse benigne and affable, then high in blood and honour: I assure my self, that he will not disdaine to look vpon the same, for although it be little in quantity, yet notwithstanding it is very great in qualitie, since it containes in it self a Quintessence of those thinges that haue been written for the profit and commoditie of men, gouernours and Princes. *Venice the 24. of February, 1578.*

*The most humble and dutifull seruant of your Emperiall
Maiestie, Francisco Sansouino.*

The

¶ The Author to the Reader.

I Could impart vnto you many things touching this my present trauaile, excusing my selfe, for that I haue not called the same rather experiments, aduertisements, maximies, axiomiies, precepts or sentēces, the cōceits: And therin to haue entermixt some morall and priuat matters, if I had not been assured that I should not preuaile. For I know very wel, that it is almost a general rule (by that I haue obserued in things past) that euery writer what good intent soeuer hath moued him, or what trauail soeuer he hath endured for the vniuersall profit of all, yet is he euer taxed of criticall persons: forsomuch as our tungen being moued and stirred through enuie or hate, or through a certaine corruption which is brought in amongst vs, not to haue any taste but onely in our own proper matters we are much more easie drawne to speak euill, then the wisdom of him that is moued, is prompt and readie to doo well. Therefore referring all my excuses to your vpright iudgement (when it is not driuen forward with any passion) I will onely say this that I holde for a certain, that this worke howsoeuer it be, will be of great helpe and aide to those that be studious, for that I imagine, it will enriche the priuat discourses, and the publicke actions of those that shall chaunce at any time to vse and handle these conceits in humain actions, which almost haue been euer the selfe-same in all times and amongst all men: and for that in the working and negotiating of affaires, as wel in publick as in priuat, they will minister vnto them many conditions and partes, the which conceites although they be somewhat generall, yet neuerthelesse they will giue no

small light partitie: how to knowe the partes and conditions of greatest aduantage in particular things, as well of publicke actions, as of priuate affaires. And although these accidents, which doo at vnawares chaunce vnto men in their affaires, and vpon the deed dooing, are so many and so vnknownen, that they cannot be comprehended within the compasse of precepts: therefore some vulgare persons do reprehend the studie of them: neuerthelesse, for that I presuppose I shal helpe and yeeld aide to men of accomplishment, as my intent was, when I tooke this matter first in hand, drawing the substance (the finall end of this studie) forth of histories, therby to take away from others, the length, tediousnes of reading and toyling themselues: I perswade my selfe, that although all accidents cannot be brought vnder precepts, yet that man that hath any meane assistance of diligence, & that in working & perfourming of the, he be not moued nor altered more then is conuenient (either by his nature, or by any other newe accidents) to dispose otherwise then well and aptly these actions which he meanes to bring to an end; he by great reason may receiue many benefits and commodities, by hauing his minde fullye replenished with these aduertisements and conditions, which he in any parte hath exercised in other operations, or rather studiously read in some good and chosen writers, and stirred vp in his memory, only in this matter this hath been somewhat noisome vnto me: that I could not finde any full or perfect meanes (by reason of the varietie of the subiect) to put them vnder firme and infallible titles for your commodities: and although I haue oftentimes conferred this difficultie

with

with those excellent Gentlemen, Maister George Gradenigo and Maister Alui di Michele, as of great learning, who did enter into the same, and did discourse vpon it with great prudence, of Histreographic, and in matter of state, and of whom I haue receiued great counsell in this enterprise, neuertheles they could not resolue me according to my desire. And although the foresaid gentlemen put me in memorie, that it would do well if I did place them vnder six titles, vnder which are accustomed to light the consultations which are made in the counsels of common weales, and are drawn therinto by the lawgiuers, and wherof Aristotle writ in his Rethorick: although they did not immediatlye come vnto the same, but as it were in consequence: at any time when the vnderstander therof would apply theselues to their places, neuertheles I did dispose my selfe to make the table heereunto annexed, as a thing more perfect, and perchaunce more easie and short: The which although vnto some it seemes not able to serue the turne, to finde out sufficiently the particulars of those conceites that are fit for him, or wherin he hath need about his affaires: neuertheles, it will shewe you a way how to attain to your intent, if not in all things, yet at the least in some parte. Receiue therfore with a beneuolent minde this my good wil, to the intent, that perceiuing your ametic, I may with a seruient desire, bringende to the second and third book of conceits, which I still am about to gather.

Farwell.

The names of those Authors and writers, forth
of whom the conceites of this present booke
be gathered.

IT would no doubt very much haue preailed to those that are
studious, that I should haue placed the names of the Authors
at the foote of euery conceite, but for that it was not my mea-
ning, when I first begun this worke, to publish the same, I did not
remember in that my studie to vse the foresaide diligence. Ther-
fore if any one will serue his turne with these conceites, he maye
saye: to giue force to his reason, by alle adging some of these or such
like words, as wise men say, as antiquitie haue written, as pru-
dent men declare, and such other manner of speeches, neuerthe-
les, I assure ye, that when I returne againe to read ouer the same
Authors, perchance in the second impression they shall be added
according to your desires. Notwithstanding, I haue thought good
to put in this place, the names of the writers, which I haue used
in this my first booke, and these be they that followe.

Aristotle.

Appian Alexandrine.

Ammiano Marcellino.

Antonie Guevarra.

Bernard Iustinian.

Cæsar the Emperour.

Cornelius Tacitus.

Cosmo Bartol.

Dione Casio.

Francisco Guiciardini.

Galeazzo Capello.

Giouanne dalla Casa.

Gabriello Fiamma.

Gian Battista pigna.

The historie of Florence.

The Historie of Naples.

Iosephus the Hebrew.

Iustine.

Leonardo Aretino.

Marc. Antonio Sabellico.

Marcus Tullie Cicero.

Niceta Aconiate.

Philippe Argentone.

Polibius Historiens.

Plutarchus Cheronensis.

Paulus Emilius.

Pietro Bembo.

Paulus Iouius.

Plato.

Procepius.

Remigio the Florentine.

Salust.

Suetonius.

Thucidides.

Titus Livius.

Zenophon.

Politick



Politick Conceites and sentences,
Gathered by M. Francisco Sanlouino, out of the
most famous writers in the Greeke, Latin,
and Italian tongues, to benefite those that
command in matters of State
and Civill government.

IT is the wunted Nature of¹
men chafelye to doubt those dan-
gers that be nearest at hand, to e-
steeme moze then is conuenient,
those thinges that be present: and
to haue in lesse account then they
ought, those that be farre off: by
reason that in these last we may
hope for many remedies, by the meanes of Time and o-
ther sundry accidents.

When we suspect our confederates or those y^e we cre-²
dit & trust, it is requisite we excuse vnto them those
things that be apparent, deny those that be doubtfull, and
indenuour our selues with great diligence to mittigate the
most mighty of them: and so by flatteryes and promises,
please and assure sometimes one, sometimes an other, as
well to make them moze negligent, as to hope, that by
such sortes of practise they being seperated, there may
growe and arise amongst them suspicion, breach & discorde.

That curious prudence of minde, which ouer strictly cōsi-³
ders & desiphers matters to come, is often discōmenda-
ble, sozsomuch as woꝝldly affairs are subiect to so many & so
sundry accidents, that seldome times those things succed,

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which wise men haue imagined ought of necessitie to fall out. And therfore, he that dooth for goe present benefites, for feare of future perilles (when in such cases the danger is not most certain and nere at hand) plainly perceiues that he hath lost sundry occasions full of profit and glozve, for feare of those perilles which after fall out to be vaine.

4 **W**hen a wise man for some occasion, is drawn by any person whosoever, to a iust disdaine and anger: yet ought he to inoderate the same as much as he is able with his mature iudgement, hauing respect not to his particular right and benefit: but to the profit and right of the common wealth: specially, if by his wrath and anger, he maye become hurtfull and domeageable to the gouernement and state.

5 **T**he deliberations of Common wealthes require no base and priuate respects: neither that all things shall be referred to profite, but to most magnaninie and haughty endes, wherby their glozie may be augmented, and reputation kept: the which nothing dooth so much extinguish and deface, then that men should enter into conceit, that they haue neither y minde or power to perceiue and remember iniuries, neither to be prompt and ready to reuenge them. A thing chafly necessarie for to performe the; not so muche to take pleasure in reuenge, as that the punishment of those that offend: may be such an example to the rest, that they shall not dare to prouoke them againe. And so consequently it will come to passe that glory shall be lugged with vtilitie, and that those deliberations which procede of generositie and magnanimitie, shall arise to be full of profite and commoditie.

6 **A** Great power vnited wholly together, is much moze to be feared, then the powers & forces of many y are disseuered, the which as they haue sundry monings and proceedings, so haue they seuerall & disagreeing operations.

7 **A**lthough some hold for a maxime, That these common wealths which are not gouerned by one mans appetite but

but by the consent of many, proceede with moze moderation and with greater respects then a Prince can doe: neither doe so out of reason depart from that which hath some appearance of honesty, as oftentimes they doe, yet doth it fall out to be a farre better government when the common-wealth makes the bodie and the members, and the Prince the head, so that being incozporated together as one bodie, the dignitie, maiestie and state of the common-wealth, falles out to be of a farre greater perfection.

A Wise man ought alwaies to draw commodities out of occasions, therfore a Prince should not cast away the instruments of encrease, neither lack them when he hath the fauours of fortune propitious.

Cuncelles not well measured of Princes, are pernicious not onely to themselves, but also to their people, when as hauing only befoze their eyes, either vainer, or present ambitions, not remembryng the often change of fortune, and conuerting into damage the power of others, graunted them so common commoditie: they are made, either thzough want of pzudence, or thzough ouer-great ambition, the authoers of new troubles.

Princes are to their great damage disceiued, when in making election of persons, vnto whome they commit the execution of important affaires: they haue greater consideration to the fauour of them they chouse, then to their valour and vertue.

Great Princes thinke themselves iniured when they are denied that thing they desire, and become displeased against euery one, which followe not their willes, and that together with their fortune, doe not put sozward to them, their owne proper fortune.

Such as the custome of Princes be, such likewise be the gouernment of their affaires. If the Prince be of small discretion, and lesse estimation they runne into ruine. If good and valerious, they flourish, so God doth prosper alwaies the good, and so the most part doth thzowe downe head.

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headlong those that be wicked.

13 **A** few Empire not well ordered, nor prudently governed, doth rather burden then make more mighty him that hath gained it, besides that no man hath at any time boyn himself well in governing a state which hath bene so will gotten.

14 **E**ven as in the sustenance of the body, it is not only necessary that the head be well and in good state, but also it is requisite that the other members do their duety, so it is not enough that a Prince be faultles, if his officers do not proportionally do their dueties with diligence and vertue.

15 **T**he nature of great Princes, cannot easily resist their appetites like private persons: for being accustomed to be reuerenced, vnderstande, and obeyed by signes, they become not onely haucie and insolent, but also they cannot beare nor tollerate to be denied or not to obtaine that which seemes iust vnto them: and in their sight that appeares iust which they desire, perswading themselves that they are able to smoothe and make easie all impediments, and to overcome the nature of thinges, with one onely wordde or loke.

16 **P**rinces and common wealths ought to consider in their enterprises, what difference is betwixt making warres against others, or respecting that they come to be made against them: to practice and worke the deuision of an other mans state, or abide vntill his owne be deuided: to be accompanied against one alone, or to remaine post alone against many that are knit in league together. And after the consideration hereof, to determine which will turne best to his particular profit.

17 **I**t is a note of high prudence and reputation, in a great Prince, to proceed in such sort in all his causes: that of the actions he workes, those that obey him haue not any cause to enter into suspes, either that he doth it cunningly to discerne, or feinedly for some other sinister end.

where

Where many Princes that pretend to be equalles do consozt and keepe company together, there doth ea-¹⁸
sely spring vp amongst them suspitions and contentions,
by reason whereof, those enterprizes which they haue be-
gun with great reputation, do fall into many difficulties,
and finally become daime.

To giue god hopes to augment as much as is possible¹⁹
the fauours and reputations of an armie, with arte
and with industrie : to remain ready to make agréments
and concozds according to occasions, are affaires fit to be
perfourmed of a Prince.

To gouerne and raigne : dependes onely on fortune,²⁰
but to be a King that doth pferre for his small end,
the safetie and felicitie of his people: doth onely depend of
him selfe and of his proper vertue.

It appertains to wise Princes in their diffieill and dan-
gerous determinations, to approue for easie and plauci-²¹
ble those that be necessary, or that are subiect to lesse diffi-
culties and perilles then the rest.

Bow much moze a King is great and mightye, by so²²
much moze is it glorious for him to shewe his poluer,
for the maintaining of iustice & faith, nothing being moze
vntuozthie for him, and for his common wealth, then to
want and faile in faith.

All people by nature imitate & customes of their prin-
ces, and follow his footsteps, and according to his pro-²³
ceedings do either hate him or loue him : but when once he
begins to be odious, whither his actions be good or bad, all
things be accounted euill. but if once he haue begun to get
the loue of them, euery thing how euill soeuer it be don,
is attributed to vertue : as though he would not goe a-
bout to do euill, if he were not occasioned vpon some grou-
ded reason.

A Prince in duettifall causes must hang in suspicion and²⁴
reserve to himselfe so much as is possible, the meanes
and facultie to take these deliberations, that by the pro-
ceeding.

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ceding of generall and vniuersall causes, he doth discern to be his best.

25 **A** Prince can haue no greater felicitie, then that his deliberations (wherof doth arise his owne greatnes and glozy) may be accompanied with such consequences & circumstances, that they may appeare that they are done, no lesse for an vniuersall safetie and benefite, then for the exaltation of the whole Christian Common-wealth.

26 **I**t is the custome of Princes, artificialllye to entertaine one another, with vaine hopes and dissembling practises, besides that, they be couetous and greedy to embrace counterfeite cullours, to the intent they maye with moze apparant honestie disturbe and bere (although oftentimes wrongfully) the states and dominions of others. And if a man goe about to perswade them that which is good, he renues molestation and traualle: but when he doth flatter them, and doth vse a contrarie course, he maye doe it without any trouble in the world.

27 **T**he counsellis of Captains oftentimes fall out to be full of fallacies, vnlesse they be fauoured by the force of fortune: And although they be diligent and prudent, yet for all that they become vnprofitable, when the execution of their enterprises, procédes with negligence and imprudence.

28 **A** Politick Generall and Captain, wil rather (to the intent he may with securitie obtaine the victorie) haue little or no respect to the length of the time, neither to the taking of too much toyle and trauaile, either to procéde in the spare of expences, without much prouision, rather then by obtaining glozye by ouercomming with facilitie and speed, to put in perill and hazard together with his armie, the euent of his quarrell and action.

29 **I**t almost comes euer to passe thzough the corrupt iudgment of men, that prodigalitie is moze praised in a King (although thereunto rapine be annexed) then sparing loved to forbearing from other mens goods.

NO solicitations, no benefites, no knot of conuention³⁰ is sufficient to remove from the breast of Princes the small confidence and mistrust they have one with an other: and although it be fit and proper for them, alwaies to pre-ferre in their deliberations, profit, and beneuolence, be-fore hate and other couetous humours, yet neuer thelesse, it is the office and duty of a wise Prince, to the intent he may shame the greater, to embrace for profitable, for good, and for the very best, the election of the lesse euill: neither ought he to free him selfe from one perill and one disorder, to run into an other, of more importance, and of greater infamie.

Honestye maye sometimes and in some respectes giue³¹ place to profit, rather then by maintaining with obstinate pertinacie, the giuen faith to perseuer in molestations.

Men keep longer in memozy an iniury, then a receiued³² benefite, so when they call to minde the benefite, in their imagination they make it lesse then it is, reputing themselves to haue merited much more. The contrarie doth arise of iniuries, so it grieues euery one more then of reason they ought to be agræued: therefore where the bad estate and degree is alike, keep thee from doing those pleasures, which of necessitie worke displeasures to auoid losse and damage.

A Tirant doth enforce himselfe to performe three things³³ to maintain his estate, the first is to keep down, and to keep the wundes of his citizens weak and fable, so he that is of small courage doth neuer rise vp against a tirant. The second is to procure that the most mightye Citizens doo liue in discorde amongst themselves, so the intent they shall not conspire against him, being vnited together. The third, is to keepe them disarmed and in idleness, so he that neither can nor knowes how to doe any thing: will not be enflamed, neither once enter into thought to assault him that is of great power.

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34 **T**hat place is not called a Cittie, which hath a great number of men to inhabite it, but rather that which is furnished with such Citizens which are of sufficiencye to live well and happily, for Lordship and Signorie is maintained with prudence and with valour, and with him that is a good man, and a good gouvernour: and god he cannot be unlesse he be prudent.

35 **A**ll these things for the which men do toyle themselves in this world, are reduced and drawne into two heads and titles: that is to say, to profit, and to honoz, vnder the title of profit is to be vnderstood all that which appertains to the body, vnder the title of honoz: al that which belongs to the minde.

36 **A** Prince ought to be graue, not in haughtines of countenance, but in the order of his life: governing him selfe moderately in all his affaires and actions, and obseruing those promises he hath made: let him be rather affraide not to do euill, then that euill should be down vnto him, and let him remember, that being a man as others are, he hath graunted him by God almost deuine power, to the intent he may place in his government things that be iust and honest.

37 **T**hat Citizen that doth begin to manage the affaires of the Common-wealth, doth live according to the customes vsed of the other Citizens, and doth accomodate himselfe to their nature, and with art and prudence doth leane to those things that are wonted to bring pleasures and delight to the people, and by the which they are accustomed to be taken into a snare, to the intent, that by so doing, gayning an opinion of valour and faith, he maye obtaine authoritie.

38 **T**hose that manage the affaires of a free state: ought to haue in minde two precepts of Plato, the one, that they defend and maintaine the profit of their Citizens in such sort, that whatsoeuer they do may tend to that end, setting aside their own commodities: the other, that they haue

haue an eye to the whole body of the Common-wealth, to the intent, that whilst they haue care of one parte, they doe not abandon another: so; euen as in the Tuler of a ward, so the government of a Common-wealth is to be handled and ordered, to the benefite of those so; whome it is committed and recommended, and not so; the to whom it is committed.

It is the proper charge of a Magistrate, to vnderstand ³⁹ that he carries vpon him, and doth exercise the person of the Cittie: and that he ought to maintain his decorum and his dignitie, to obserue the lawes, and to be mindefull of those things that are committed to his fidelitie, and not only to look into that which is don, but also to prouide so; that which ought to be done, and to vse all possible indures to prouide that the Common-wealth after his death may be no lesse rightly administered, the it is during the government of his life.

Liberty is nothing else but full power, to doe as a man ⁴⁰ will. And that man liues as he will, the which doth follow those things that be right and well don, and which doth reioyce in him selfe to doe pleasures and benefites to others, and that in his liuing is aduised and prudent, and that doth obey the lawes, not through feare, but doth honor; and obserue them like others, and who neither dooth think nor doo any thing, but freely and with a good will, whose councelles and whose operations, doe arise and take end in him selfe, not hauing any thing that maye accomplish moze in him then his will and his iudgement, and vnto which likewise fortune her selfe may giue place.

That warre is iust that is necessarye, and those armes ⁴¹ and weapons are godly and happie, in the which there resteth no other hope the in the said weapons and armes. And that warre is iust which is commaunded of y^e Prince, either in respect to recouer that which is lost, or to defend himselfe from other mens iniuries: but that is an vnhappie and wicked warre, in the which it is necessarye, that he

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which ouercomes be depzined: and he that is vanquished become a King.

42 **T**hose that ouercome are to be aduertised, that whilst they pardon a few wicked persons, they dzine into ruine and disseuer those that be good: for they in beholding that the euill are remitted, they cannot hope y^e good actions shall be at all rewarded in th^e: but belæuing y^e they may gaine by doing euill, and so they giue ouer to keep themselves within the true bounds of god dædes & operations.

43 **I**t is an ordinary thing amongst men in cōmon-wealths rather to forget benefites then euill dædes, for so much as retaining by nature in their mindes. rather offences then benefites: they expect occasions to reuenge them, and oftentimes to the generall damage of the State call to memory receiued euills and damages.

44 **T**he willes of Princes as for the most part they are accustomed to be empitious and headlong: so doo they mozeouer some fall out to be mutable and full of change, and verpe often to be contrarie in themselves. And it is a thing most apparant that common wealths are gouerned no lesse with modesty then with seuerẽ empire. And these ought to gouern y^e same, that being weak of body thzough their old age, be thzough their knowledge and experience, firme and stable in wisdomẽ, for so much as to strong bodies it is conuenient and fittes them well, to keep abzoade in warres with their boldenes, and such as be old & weak, to tarry at home in peace, to minister lawes and equitie.

45 **C**ommon-wealths are perceiued from great perrilles, at whom with industrie, with a fræ minde, in giuing counsell, which not being subiect to lust, and with obeying to the lawes, and abzoade with iust empire and rule, with cortesse and gentlenes and with embracing these persons, that administer iustice. When the citizens do follow couetousnes & lechery: that publick persons be poze, and the priuat fall of riches: and that ambition both possesse all the rewardes of vertue. It is no meruaile if that common wealth

wealth runne into ruine.

Since through the wickednes of men, riches begin to be
 of honour, and that glorie, empire and power, did fol- 46
 low and attend vpon the same, the was vertue darkened,
 pouertie reuiled, and innocencie begun to be reputed for
 malice and hipocricie.

In Cities and States, those that want riches doo euer
 carry enuy to the good, and craue the wicked: they hate 47
 those thinges that be olde, and crye and gape after those
 that be newe, and through the hate they beare to them,
 they vse their endeuour to turne all things by side downe:
 and without care do send themselves with troubles and se-
 ditions, pouertie being easilye made assured from all losse
 and discommodities.

Those that liue in base estate, and remoued and fræ from
 all things, if they commit any error it is knowne of 48
 seixe, and their same and faulte is equall: but the dedes
 and actions of those that are put it great rule and govern-
 ment, do lead their life alofte, and are manifest to all men
 in the worlde.

A Prince of our time being of euerye man reputed for 49
 wise, was accustomed to restraine himselfe from fauo-
 ring of persons, from hating of them, and from being an-
 grye or in a rage against them, and would saye, that that
 Prince that could abstaine from these three things was a
 Saint. And that Princes ought to persecute wickednes
 when it is committed, but in case of conspiracies he ought
 to proceed befoze it be executed: otherwise, he dooth trou-
 ble himselfe in vaine, to punish the same when it is come to
 passe and finished. For when a Cittie is once taken, there
 remaines no moze to them vanquished.

It hath neuer bene sene that anye good man hath 50
 lost his libertye, vnlesse he hath lost it together with his
 minde. For so muche as it is knowne manifestlye to all
 men, that it is a most difficile and hard thing to those that
 haue ben instituted, made, brought by e bozne in libertye
 to

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to liue in seruitude, since that amongst all worldly things the best is liberty: whose name is a note of vertue, as seruitude and bondage is a note of infelicitie.

51 **W**hen a noble personage doth degenerate from the vertuous actions of his predecessors, let him remember, that how much the more famous the life of his Ancestours hath been, so much more shamefull & slanderous shal his be: for so much as the glorie of our fore-fathers, is as it were a light to those that descend from them, the which doth discover the to the eyes of others, that vertue or that vice which they haue.

52 **I**t is a goodly thing in a victorious Prince, when as calling him selfe to memory, he doth rather goe about that which is worthy of him selfe, then that which he may with reason doe against his ouercome and vanquished enemy.

53 **H**e doth assuredly liue and enjoy a staide and perfect minde, who being intentiue about any busines or action, doth procure himselfe a fame of worthy Princes, of good art or letters.

54 **A**lthough flatterie be reprehended of wise men, as a wise contrary to a worthy wit: yet did Cicero saye, it is necessary in the obtaining of office and gouernment in a free Common-wealth.

55 **T**he life and behaviour of the people is corrupted by the customes of the Prince: who beholding his licentious lecherie, despise the merites of his chastitie, endeavouring themselves to imitate his vices, as most vertuous actions: for that it seemes vnto them that they cannot commend the dooers of their Prince, if they themselves doe not likewise practise and vse the same.

56 **I**t is a manifest thing, that he that is mighty is alwaies accompanied and followed with enuy, not of the least, for those cannot much harme him, but of his chetitiues, carrualles and his peeres: therefore to shun the same in my opinion, he should aduise himselfe well, if in matters

of importance he did vse that parte and meanes of proceeding, which doth most allwage, and is contrarie to enuye.

He that is not altogether alenated from peace, is neuer hindered or kept from making the same by multitude of complaints and damages, so much as these differences and debates are cut off (although they be many) by the force and vertue of upright iustice, or by means of recompencing, waying one iniurie with an other, or by counterpesing and ballancing this reason and right with that, or else (so a lesse damage, or to giue end to the greater trauailes or troubles) let the one yelde vnto the other some parte of his right, as vnto these wise men by consideration of the importance or subiect of the cause, it shall seeme conuenient.

It is fitte for euery well governed Common-wealth, to take order that all the causes, or at least the greatest part of them if it be possible, may be deciphered and diuided by the lawes, rather then left to the arbitrament of the Judge: for there be very fewe to be found that haue god and mature vnderstanding, knowledge and abilitie, to minister and ordaine lawes, and to giue right iudgement in doubtful causes: for so much as lawes through the long vse of thinges, and through many and sundry considerations, are brought to full perfection, but the iudgementes of man by his owne nature, being apt to bend either to loue or hate: is corrupted, spoyled, and made partiall, vnlesse it be vnder propt with the strong pillar of Lawe.

Those which haue iudgement, falling into consideration of the riches and power of any other State, doo not meruaile, neither at their power, neither at their riches: but admiring the god forme of the order of the saide State, vnder which such power and riches dooth flourish, desire the god government of their Common-wealth, by being and suffering their Prince: and be very vigilant to keepe themselves from offending him at any time, neither

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with deeds nor with words, to the intent not to imitate him.

60 **A**mongst the rest of these goods that fortune bestowes upon vs, he doth gaine most woorthy praise, that being rich doth not aspire to rule and signorie: that is not insolent by reason of his money, that doth not preferre himselfe before others arrogantly, and that doth behaue himselfe in such sort, that others may iudge, that that abundance of riches haue giuen him meanes to become sober and modest, and not malepert and haughty.

61 **E**very one knowes that those discordes which arise amongst the people, are occasioned by inequalitye of goods and riches: so: those that be of meane estate would make themselves equall with their betters, but those which spring by amongst noble and great men, be occasioned by meanes of honours: so: those y^e be equalles would make themselves greater then the rest.

62 **M**en when they draw nere to their future mischances do principally lose their discourse, discretion and prudence with the which they might easily bring impediment and hinderance to their destinies.

63 **I**t is a great impudence so: a man to binde himselfe to a perpetuall perrill, vpon foundations not perpetuall: and through vncertaine hopes to begin an assured warre with an enemy moze mighty then himselfe.

64 **N**othing is moze necessarie in hard and difficult deliberations then counsell, nothing on the other side moze perillous then to demaund counsell: and it is no doubt, but that counsell is lesse necessary to prudent men, then to those that be imprudent: and yet notwithstanding those that be wise do reape much moze profit by counsel then the ignorant, so: who is he y^e is so perfect in prudence, that doth alwayes consider & know enery thing of himselfe, and in contrary reasons, doth euer discern and roll out the best parte: but what assurance hath he y^e doth demaund counsell, to be faithfully counselled: so: so much as he that dooth

giue

counsell, if he be not very faithfull and much affectioned to him that doth demaund y^e same: moued not only thzough notable respectes of profite, but for euery small commo-
ditie; or euery light satisfaction: dooth oftentimes direct his counsell, to that ende that doth turne most to his purpose, or that where in he dooth take most pleasure, and therefore these ends and tearmes being for the most parte so much unknowne to him that seeks for counsell, he doth not remember nor perceiue if he be not prudent, the infidelitie of the counsell.

A Prince that by the means of his embassadour, would deceiue an other Prince, must first deceiue the Amba-
sadour, to the intent that he may worke and speake with greater efficacie, perswading himselfe and belauing that such is the minds of his prince, the which though he would not nor could not do, if he did imagine himselfe to be a disssembler, and this practise euery one dooth vse, that by the meanes of an other, would perswade that which is false vnto an other. 65

It is proper for fortune so often as victorie is not made assured with moderation and prudence, to blot and stain
the glozie that is gained, with some thing vnlooked for: therefore it is not requisite in the managing of matters of moment, to suffer things to be carried away and marshald by chaunce. 66

He that will hang in suspence, and ballance thinges amongst Princes, and become a newter, it is necessary
for him very circumspectly to abstaine not only from dares but from all those demonstrations that maye bring him into suspect of his greater inclination, moze vnto one part then vnto an other. 67

To do and not to do an action although it seeme
to bee of small effect, yet oftentimes there dooth depend vppon the same moments of matter of importance: And therefore in the managing of thinges that be moze profitable, he must alwaies be well aduertised, 68

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and haue many good considerations.

- 69 **T**he nature of the people is, to incline themselves to hope moze then they ought: to be of lesse tolleration, to take alwaies against hart things that be present, and to attribute vnto themselves not to desire and challenge that which they ought rather to attribute to their disability: besides this, those that be fearefull, and which determine not to oppose themselves against perils, but to flie: fall to consolations, but to people that are warlike and hardy: it appertaines to charge and to present themselves to the enemy, so soon as they haue had sight of him.
- 70 **A**s there is no age which both naturally moze abhorre infamie, and is moze couetous of honoꝝ and pꝛowesse then is youth: so there is no age that is so apt neither of moze power and foꝛce to tollerate trauailes, to suppoꝛte discommodities, difficulties and wants, that of necessitie are suffered in warres. And if we doe rightlye enter into consideration of the matter, men doe not differ one from another, by reason of yeeres: but through pollicie in wit, through quicknes in iudgement, through their study, their industrie, their experience, and their vertue.
- 71 **I**t is follye to become angrye with those persons against whome, by reason of their greatnes thou canst not hope to reuenge thy selfe, therefore if it seme vnto thee that thou hast receiued iniurye at their handes, dissemble and suffer.
- 72 **I**n matters of warfare, there springes vp from time to time, infinite varieties, therefore we must not put vpon vs ouer-great haughty hate foꝛ late pꝛosperities, noꝛ ouer-great abiect mindes, foꝛ aduersē calamities: foꝛ oftentimes there dooth arise mutations. Therefore hereby we must learne, that when occasion dooth present it selfe, let vs not lose oꝛ let slippe the same, foꝛ she is of small continuance.
- 73 **W**e ought well to consider that, which the beginnings of things may be able to bring forth, and to obserue and

and beware at the first to give place to vniust and perniti-
ous demaundes : so; so much, as when once any one hath
obtained their desired things, they do not diminish at all,
but do alwaies encrease our determinations and desires
with a greater better will . and with greater conceites
then befoze.

How much moze any accidents comes at vniustwares, 74
and vnlooked for, by so much moze it doth amale and
put men in terrour : and therefore a wise man ought to be
abundantly stozed with able meanes, to pzouide that dis-
cozdes do not ensue, o; that if they should ensue, that they
do not continue : and he must forsee euen from this pze-
sent state, all sature perilles, remouing them with pzu-
dence and with counsell : not suffering thinges to runne
headlong.

In ciuill states and conuersations, an offence cannot be 75
chastised, o; a vertuous action rewarded : but that the
Citizens shall receiue that common profit that doth ther-
by arise : neither was there any remedye found better,
moze apt, no; of greter effect to maintain a comonwealth
in god and happie estate, then a counterpose of punishmēt
and reward vled by rightly.

All the Securitie that may be had of an enemy, either 76
of faith, either of friends, either of pzomises, and of o-
ther, some bonds are god: but thzough the wicked conditi-
on of men, and thzough the varping of times, there is no-
thing thought better and moze firme, then so to accom-
modate our selues, that the enemy cannot haue power to
offend vs.

The maner of pzoceding in moderne warrefare is far 77
vnlike to the antiquitie, who did not subozne secret
murtherers, but did discover vnto the enemy, if any such
wicked treason was wzought against him, having confi-
dence to be able to ouercome with vertue.

It is a moze secure & glozious resolution, with as much 78
legualitie of hope as may be : to make experience of so;

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tune, then by slyng and leauing the same to consume by little and little, and to giue to the enemy the victoꝝ without blood and without perrill, soz somuch as in thinges that fall out contrarge, the feare and difficultie of him that is ouercome, doth become euerye day greater.

- 79 **I**f difficulties a man must sometimes, not denying but prolonging, indeuouring himselfe to cause others to accept and imbrace hope in stead of effects.
- 80 **I**t is a most true and commendable Proverbe amongst the antiquitie, that Dignities disciphers mens qualities, soz thzough experience and measure thereof, is not onelye knowne by their weight, what ability or insufficiencie is in them, but also by reason of the power and libertye they haue, are discouered the affections of their mindes and of what nature they are: by how much the greater a man is, so much lesse respect hath he to suffer and keep himself from being guided according to his owne nature.
- 81 **I**f deuour thy selfe not to be euill thought of by him that is thy superiour in thy Countre, neither put trust in the god gouernment of thy owne life: but let it be such, that thou maist imagine not to fall into his hands, soz there arise infinite causes, not thought vpon, wherein thou maist haue need of him, and Et c conuerso.
- 82 **I**f a superiour haue desire to punish or reuenge himselfe against his inferiour, let him not doo it in a headlong and rashe manner, but let him expect time and occasion, the which without doubt shall in such sozte fall out that not discouering himselfe soz a passionate and malignant person, hee shall be able to satisfie his desire.
- 83 **T**uching the managing of warfare, the counsell of the olde doth little helpe, if in putting the same in execution, the courage, the valour, and the gallant lustines of youtthes doe not set their handes to the doing, who soz the moste parte, are of a very quicke vnderstanding.

ding, and haue their spirites and wittes in such a readines, that oftentimes they overcome the difficulties of the affaires with greater discretion and prudence then others can beleue: for we must not expect the processe of yeres, when the vertue of valour and force is to be shewed: for so much as the race and course of force and vertue is much more swift, then that of age.

It is requisite that Governours doe rather followe the substance then the appearance of things, measuring more with prudence then with proper will, and not giue ouermuch faith or credit to themselves, for it is a great infamie to states, when ignorance is accompanied with losse. 84

The order of occasions to obtaine any high matter, is necessary to be taken when things are in reuolucion neither is it good for a man to stand to looke about him so oftentimes as he knowes it more perillous to stand still, then to aduenture. 85

Matters of warrefare consist rather in obedience then in will: intruding themselves to knowe the circumstances and reasons of the Generall & Captains affaires, and that army aboue all other is of greatest valour, in perilles, at the encounter and charge, that befoze the encounter and stroke of the battaile, is more then any other in tranquillitie and quiet. 86

All they that would determine and resolute themselves vpon any thing of importance, ought to consider whether that which they enterprize and take in hand to doo, is to fall out profitable to the Commonwealth, honourable to himselfe, and easie to be brought to passe: or at leastwise not very difficill. 87

In all enterprizes it is necessary to haue an eye & be advertised, if any one perswade, beside giuing of counsell, whether the wise be put himself in perill, & whether fortune hath brought the enterprize to an end, who it is he ought to haue the 88

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- 82 **I**f a superiour haue desire to punish or reuenge himselfe against his inferiour, let him not doo it in a headlong and rashe manner, but let him expect time and occasion, the which without doubt shall in such sorte fall out that not discovering himselfe for a passionate and malignant person, hee shall be able to satisfie his desire.
- 83 **T**ouching the managing of warfare, the counsell of the olde doth little helpe, if in putting the same in execution, the courage, the valour, and the gallant lustines of youtnes do not set their handes to the doing, who for the moste parte, are of a very quicke understanding.

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the

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the principall degree and honour.

- 89 **I**n discordes and tumultes, those haue alwaies most force and power, that amongst all the rest be most wick-
ked. In peace and quietnes those are of most valour, that
do shine and are decked with god and commendable dis-
ciplines.

- 90 **A**ll men naturally are good when they reape no profit
nor take no delight in euill, but so greatly doth barrie
the corruption of this world & their fragilitie, that easlye
and very often for their owne profit they encline to euill.
Wherefore the rewarde of vertue and punishment of vice,
was found out and inuented by wise Lawe-giuers, for the
foundation of Common-wealth, not to destroye men, but
to the intent they might followe the inclination of
nature.

- 91 **H**e that hath to governe Citties & peoples, and would
haue them corrected: let him punish the offenders in
them, after the rate of thirteene pence halfe peny, and let
him in effect chastise all faultes, he may very well vse mer-
cy, but not in hainous causes, for in those it is requisite to
giue example to the rest.

- 92 **G**lozie, for that it is the proper and true rewarde of hu-
maine tranails, is that which doth enflame and pricke
forward woorthye mindes to honourable enterprises: nei-
ther can we finde out any thing that is of greater effect to
cause any man to raise by his mind, to quicken his under-
standing, and to make sharpe his industrie, then the desire
to obtaine glozie, and the hope of immortallity.

- 93 **S**o long as men shall be in the world, so long shall there
be found vices, these neuertheless, not alwaies, nor
continually, but the good and the euill shall continue their
turnes: and by the comming of better things, they shall
recompence and redresse themselves amongst themselves.

- 94 **E**uen as discorde in a Cittie doth discover and giues oc-
casion to those that lie in waite to betray, to perforce
their practises well: so vultus doth knit together the di-

uersities of opinions, and of many making one body alone
doth keepe governments and states incorrupted.

No lesse doth a kingdom take her beginning of a King.
then a king of a kingdome: so; the King giues lawes
and orders to the kingdome, and not the kingdome to the
King: the pardons, the gifts, the warres, the peace, the pu-
nishments and the rewardes, doe p[ro]ceede from the King
to the kingdome, and not in contrary course, so; onely vnto
an emperiall maiestie appertaines to commaund, and
the Common-wealth to obey.

As in a building of importance there is greater perill
when a stone fales forth of the foundation, the fifty
tiles from the roofe: so it is a greater fault once to disor-
der iustice, then to commit a hundred errors against
the Common-wealth: so; we haue oftentimes seene, that
there hath sprung vp scandalles of great importance in a
Common-wealth through a very small disobedience.

In doubtfull causes we cannot haue recourse to any bet-
ter thing then to counsell, so; the pillar and maine of
doubt is counsell: but in trueth leauing counsell asparte, we
ought to put ende to the execution thereof: and with so
much greater speede followe and performe that thing that
is assuredly determined, by how much more we perceiue it
to be true, and secure from all perilles, and to serue to the
purpose, and is apt and good for our intentions.

Whereas he that hath a commandment, which
doth not rule his life aright, which doth not governe
his house well, which doth not administer well his owne
affaires, and which doth not vse discipline toward his
familiar, living in debate with his neighbours, shall haue
giuen vnto him a governor, which may haue charge o-
uer him like a solemne that he be chased from amongst the
people like a vagabound: so; Common-wealthes are ne-
uer disturbed, but by those that haue no method and ma-
ner of rule in their life.

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99. **A**mongst mortall men there is nothing more common and therewithall more perillous, then to give place to that imagination, whereby wee beleue that the state of one man, is better then that of an others, and hereby it comes to passe, that humaine malice doth so blinde men, that they rather seeke to haue that with trauaile, which appertaines unto another, then to enioye with rest and quietnes that which is his owne: The state of a Prince assuredly is good, if of them it be bled to a good end: and the being of the people is likewise good, if they be content with the same, So to like sort, that of religious men is best, if they reape that profite, whereby which they ought: To be rich is very good, if therein they vse temperance: in like manner, the poore man, if he haue patience, his state falles out to be good: so to merrite, doth not consist in suffering many trauailes and discommodities: but by hauing in them great patience,

100. **T**hreaten and menace a mighty enemy, and to make him mindful that thou abominably retainest in memoire, the injuries received of him, is no other then to invite and stir him up to a greater offence, for either thou art such a one, that thou hast to be ashamed, that thou art inflamed to contend with him and cannot suffer it, or thou art such a one, that he drage in what or whensoever by a fraide of thy power, And if he be wise he will neuer expect that time, so all those threatninges shall fall out to be to thy damage,

101. **I**f Subjects did know what it costes the Prince to commaund and rule, and if the Prince did know how his state is thing it is to live in peace, the meanest doct: would haue more compassion towarde the greater, and the greater would not heare enuye towarde the meane, so much lesse be the pleasures that Princes enioye, in respect of the vices pleasures they suffer, but as the state of a Prince is better for then all others, can perfoyme more then all others, in

more worth then all others, both support more then all others, and to conclude, both overpasse and excell the government of all others. So is it most necessary that the Court, the person and the life of a Prince be ordered and corrected more then that of all others: For as much as with the length of an Elle all the whole gods of a Sparhawk is measured, so with the life of the Prince all the whole common-wealth is measured.

Princes that are wise indeed, do neuer glorie in any thing more then to keepe about them valiant men, to defend their state, and prudent men to govern their common-wealth.

Those which are to counsell, to instruct, and to giue rule to the life of Princes: ought to haue their iudgement, their vnderstanding, their wisdom, their doctrine, and their manner of liuing very cleare, very upright, very sound, and without blot, or any suspicion at all: so, to goe about to handle and discourse of great thinges, without hauing experience: is no other then that a man that is starke blinde should goe about to guide another that doth see verie well.

When a man is brought to those tearmes, that either standing still, or going forward, he remaines in the selfe perrill, he ought to apply himself to practise somewhat, so, whilke he standes lingering: the same accidents which do holde him in perrill, do stand in the same state, whereas by endeavouring himselfe to practise some actions, either he may finde out somewhat that may saue him, or at least wise, not finding the same, he hath shewed that he hath carried a minde and courage, to knowe how to seek for his safetie.

It is very presumptuous y^e doth dare to giue counsell to a prince, so, as princes in many matters carry lofty imaginations, and many of them giue libertie to y^e reines of their own will & desires: so we finde them, (thinking the

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to haue them pꝛopositions) moze incited against vs : foꝛ
counsell is rather moze damageable then commodious, if
he that giues the same be not of excellent iudgement, and
he that receiues it of very great patience.

106 **G**reat is that worke of Fortune, whē a notable man
doth rise by moze at one time then at an other: foꝛ if
a holiant man come in the time of a couragious Prince:
he shall be holden in great estimation, and shall be sent to
perfoꝛme moꝛthly enterpises, but if he come in the time
of a doutfull and fearefull Prince, he will make moze ac-
count of him that doth increase his rents, then of him
that doth ouercome a mighty warre, oꝛ makes his honoꝛ
great and famous. The very same fallēs out, in respect of
wise and vertuous men, who if they chaunce to come in
the time of a vertuous and wise Prince, they shall be este-
med and honoured, but if they spring in the time of a viti-
ous Prince, small account is made of them: foꝛ it is an
auncient and olde custome amongst vaine men, not to ho-
nour those that be pꝛofitable to the Common-wealth, but
rather those that are most gratefull and acceptable to the
Prince.

107 **P**rinces that desire much to be good, ought liuelve to
know enen at the fingers ends, what the pꝛocēding of
good Princes hath done: foꝛ we must not despise all that
which is blamed of wicked men. neither accept all y^e which
is spoken of men abꝛoad in the woꝛlde.

108 **A**s there be certaine lawes sometimes made foꝛ other
occasion then to punishe vice, so there be some rather
chastised to the intent that they may receiue losse. then foꝛ
any desire that the lawes which condemnes them should
be obserued: the which is easily knowne, when it is discer-
ned and seene, that neither the Prince his fauourites oꝛ
ministers, do leaue off that vice, y^e which they chastise in
others, and yet of in time do spring such pernicious ef-
fects, as can be to be credited, besides that it is of it selfe
a thing of most wicked example.

NO man ought to be moze carefull of any thing, then 109
 to searche out those that maye aduise and coun-
 sell him how to gouerne the Common-wealth well, and
 how to maintaine his estate with iustice, the which is not
 to be perfourmed with woordes that terrifie, neither with
 deedes that scandalize, but gentlenes and curtisies that
 may embolden their harts, and with god woorks that may
 edifie them, so; a woozthye, noble and gentle hart cannot
 make resistance, if he that commaunds be of god life and
 behauiour.

AS in the head of a man are placed the sence of smelling 110
 and hearing, so a Prince which is the head of the com-
 mon-wealth must giue eare to al those that are oppressed,
 and know all those that serue him, to the intent to reward
 them so; their seruice.

I have many times sene large experience of one thing in 111
 this wo;ld wo;thie to be noted, that as there is to be
 found one amongst the good, which is of marke so; his sin-
 guler godnes: so amongst the wicked there dooth appeare
 one extreamely wicked, but the wurst is, that the vertu-
 ous man doth not obtaine so much glozie so; his vertue, as
 the wicked thzough his wickednes, possesleth impudence:
 so; vertue makes a man naturally discreet, and vice makes
 him dissolute.

Amongst wicked men the tippe and height of their euill 112
 is, that so;getting themselves to be men, and treading
 reason vnder foot, they wander farre astray from y; truetly
 and from vertuous men, and let slacke their raines with
 libertie to followe vice: so; if it be an euill thing that one
 should be wicked, it is much moze euill to procure that an
 other should not be good.

Princes in aduerser times ought not to become ter- 113
 rified, amased o; amerailld, but rather resist their
 enemies, alwaies with the firme and staide counsell of
 mature men, and with the counsell of those that be olde
 and wise.

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- 114 **T**hat man which is oppressed, doth ordinarily cry after the change of fortune: And there is nothing more abhorred of a man in felicitie, then to thinke how full fortune is of mutabilitie: for the oppressed doth imagine, that by changing oftentimes, his state may growe to be better: but the man that is in felicitie, doth think y one change of fortune, may throw him down headlong into y depth of disgrace and miserie.
- 115 **C**ertaine wise men giue this rule, that when the Common-wealth will chole a Governour, let them haue care, that he haue been befoze hand at the least terme yeeres in the warres, for he only is able to maintaine the desired peace: who by experience hath tryed the toiles and the troubles of warrefare.
- 116 **T**here is no doubt but that a Prince when hee meastureth his forces, doth playe a very wise parte, for if he possesse but small and consumes much, he shall be assured either to lose his principalitie, or else become a Tirant.
- 117 **I**t dooth much consist in the handes of the people, that their Governours be good or euill; for there is no Prince that is so humble or lowlye, that he can alwaies dissemble his euill and wickednes, neither any such a tirant, but that sometimes hee will take notice of that which is good.
- 118 **T**here is nothing in this worlde which doth more make Common-wealths to runne into ruine, then when the prince giues consent or permits that nouelties arise in his kingdom, and y those which ought to obeye, liue in greater securitie then Princes and great Lords.
- 119 **P**rinces do not gaine honour for going environed with wicked men, for heaping vp treasures, for killing the innocents, for taking from others their goods: but for being conuersant with those that be good, for straites familiaritie with the wicked, byinges the life of a god man

to be suspected: for spending his riches in good works (it being a thing by whose verie manifest, that that man which makes account of his same, esteemeth little of money) for routing out tyrants, (for that the good hermonye in the government of a Prince dooth consist in chastising of the wicked and rewarding the good) and for the giuing frelpe of that which is his owne, for nothing doth make moze notable the maiestie of a Prince, then to shew his greatnes in helping of others, and not to be greedy to be overpassed, and aduantaged by others.

Two things makes a cittie safe and secure, and brings vnto those that governe the same, praise and honour: the one is, when it is garded by the most mighty, and kept and conserued with due defence: the other is, if the Governours doo ioyne and knit themselves together in amitie with their neighbours. without the which they cannot freely conduct viuailes and other necessarie things from one place to another in safetie.

A Prince or Lord that desires to be obeyed, it is necessary that what he commaundes be first obserued to be in his owne person: for no Lord or Prince can well with-stande or exempt himselfe from vertuous operations, for so much as a Prince being an example to others, is bound to vse such actions and operations, that he may become a worthy and notable example to those that he governe.

If a Prince would knowe for what end he is a Prince, I would tell him to governe well and to be patient when he is tolde that men murmure at his doings, for so much as finallye they are men, and become handled like men: neither can they shunne the miseries of men: and neither was there any Prince in this worlde, but that he was touched yea and tozned with the tungen of wicked persons, for they are subiectes to those two elements, that if they be wicked they incurre the euill will of those that be good, and if they be good: suddenly

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soddainly all those that be wicked murmure.

123 **T**here be two thinges amongst the rest that woocke great effectes against the State: the one is ambition, the other is desperation. neuerthelesse, the second is much worse then the first: for so much as ambition may expect occasion and opportunitie, but so cannot desperation: it being a Subject vnto the which there beeing no time permitted or graunted it, neither can nor is able to graunt it to others.

124 **R**eceiue losse, is neuer good of his owne nature, yet it is very true that it may sometimes accidently helpe and benefite when it is receiued and doth chauce vnto men that be of good vnderstanding: for it is an occasion to bring them to be of great experience, since there is a selue if once they haue not proued the euill, will enter into conceits or beloeue that the same is such as it is: whereof it ariseth that those that be vnerpert and ignorant in their affaires, doe euer procede either with ouer-great rashnes; whereas if once they haue tasted the wrath of fortune, they become moze warie, carefull, and prouident.

125 **P**rinces ought to studie to indeuour themselves to vse such conuersation with their Subjects, that they may make choise rather to serue them for their good wills, then for wages and rewardes, for when money begins to diminish, their seruice likewise beginnes to diminish; and a thousand troubles doth folowe them, which doe not serue with a good hart, for he that doth loue with all his whole affection, doth not become arrogant in proprietie: doth not withdraw himselfe in aduerser fortune, doth not complain of his pouertie, doth not grudge at y^e small fauour which is vsed towards him, neither doth departe from him in time of persecution, and by all that course of life and lone doth neuer take end vntill the houre of death.

126 **P**rinces without doubt haue greater neede to haue about them moze wise and prudent men, (to the intent to preuaile by them, and to vse their counsell) then any other ther.

ther whosoener: for since they are to stand in centerneill and watch to beholde and discover what the doings of all others be, they haue lesse liberty or licence then their subiects haue to commit errors, for euen as they haue liberty to beholde and iudge of others, euen so are they behelde and indged of others: without any licence or liberty granted them so to do.

Every state ought to desire peace, and thereof to make demonstrations both with deeds and with words: but for al that they ought to shew themselves in military preparations and prouisions most warlike, for a disarmed peace is weake and feeble: neither dooth there seme to be contradiction betwixt the desiring of peace, and to arme our selues: since there is nothing moze friend to ease and peace, then knowledge and speculation: to the antiquitie it did seme conuenient that the image of Pallace which is the Goddess of science, should be portrayed and figured armed.

Deitie requires that a friend do indenuour him selfe to yeld helpe vnto an other friend, and must not expect and tarry vntill he be requested, for he that doth so, doth not only offer it thankfully, but doth also cause it to be receiued as thankfully: preventing and taking away in his friend a certaine shamefastnes and feare which doth alwaies accompany the demander, wherby it comes to passe that he receiues it with a moze gratefull minde, and with greater disposition to yelde the like againe in exchange.

A prince doth playe a verie wise parte, when he doth procure to haue prudent and valiant Captaines for the warres, but without comparison it is much better to keepe in his Courte wise men, for the victories of battailes doth finally consist in the force of many, but the gouernement of the Common-wealth sometimes is referred and credited, to the aduise and iudgement of one alone.

That particular loue that princes very often shew moze to one then to another, is a thousand times occasion of
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greuous alterations in kingdomes, so; by reason that one is in disgrace and out of fauour, and another in loue and credit: there doth spring by harmefull hates, pernitious thoughtes and great enuye, the end whereof is wicked woꝝdes, and finally wicked dedes. And therefore that Prince that doth make any difference in conuersation with those that be equall, doth kinde and set fire in his Common-wealth.

131 **A**mongst all other offices, there is none worse, then to take charge to chastise other mens vices, and therefore a wise man ought to flee this care, like the infection of the plague, so; to repprehend vices: doth spring greater hate against him that doth chastice, then there doth grow amendment in him that is chasticed.

132 **P**rinces and wise men ought to prohibite that seditious persons doe not disturbe the quiet of the people, so; when the people doe rise, the desire of riches is awakened. contentousnes doth encrease, iustice doth fall of it selfe, wicked persons preuaile, good men are repprehended: and finally, every one doth reioyce to line to the pꝛeludice of others, to the intent they may set so;ward their dedes to prefer their own proper commodities.

133 **A**lthough we excuse ordinarily the fault of any man that hath committed the same, notwithstanding there is no man found faultie, nor any fault which doth not merite punishment: so; if he did commit the same in his rage upon the suddaine, it was a great euill and offence: but if he committed the same, pondering the case before hand, and with deliberation, it was much worse.

134 **I**t is very good that we goe about to doe all thinges with reason, and it is good that we doe guide all our enterprises in order: but yet in this there fallies out to be great difficulties. For wise and skilful men in performing their affaires, doe consider, reuolue & compasse with such diligence those inconueniences that may spring in the same, that they neuer almost determine to resolue upon any small end.

Reason

Raison requires, that that Cittizen which is in the
 state of a private person, is affable and courteous with ¹³⁵
 his friends when he doth arise afterwards to beare the ti-
 tle of a Magistrate, that he should maintaine himself with
 them in the selfe-same degree of humanitie: so; even as
 to become proude through the obtaining of perpetuall ho-
 nours newly gotten either by fortune or by valour: is a
 demonstratiue signe of a vile & abiect minde. So to become
 hauntie through the office of a Magistrate, which is shortly
 to take ende: is the signe of a minde that doth possesse
 small modesty and vertue, so; although honours do change
 manners and humours of men, yet so; all that they ought
 to change them not into worse, but into better.

All persons of iudgement that desire to obtaine any ¹³⁶
 thing that is difficile to attaine vnto, procure to haue
 meanes to be able to obtain it, so; many things are brought
 to passe if a man haue any great or good facility & dexterity
 in the, which we lose when we go about to get the by force.

A man must (so farre as is possible) keep himself from ¹³⁷
 imulations which are of most naughty nature, and en-
 dowed with apparēt customes, which haue in their mouth
 the contrarge to that which is their minde: and must
 double their tongue, not suffering it vnadvisedly to breake
 the bonds and the two bulwarke of the teath and the lips,
 amongst which nature hath shut vp the tongue as in y^e midst
 of a strong and double fortress.

He that doth inuade & occupie a state, must gain the fa- ¹³⁸
 uour of the souldiers with rewards and gifts, the good
 willes and grace of the people with the abundance of the
 Cittie, the beneuolence of the vniuersall cuntry, with ease
 and with peace, and afterwards draw vnto him the affairs
 and actions of the old gouernment, that of the magistrats,
 and together with the same: the authoritie of the lawe.

The general & captain besides his knowledge in the art ¹³⁹
 of wars, it appertains to him to be indelued wth magna-
 nimity, temperance, fortitude, liberality & prudence, so him
 it is requisit to carry authoritie in his deeds, gravity in his

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words, and to keep faith in his promise, mozeouer he must
 digest and discourse vpon his affaires with great aduise,
 ment, deliberate vpon them with mature iudgements: and
 execute them with great celeritie. In his countenance he
 must shewe himselfe vnto his Souldiers wilde, alegre and
 sterne, he ought to be pleasant, humaine and benigne to-
 wards men, neuertheless, obseruing alwaies together with
 that manner of behaviour, his degre and y decozum of his
 dignitie: that he neither with his ouer-much familiaritie
 and homeltnes make his armye become dissolute and of
 small obedience, neither with ouer-much seueritie bzing
 them to be his enemies: and so; so much as the beneuo-
 lence of the Souldiers is the most certaine hope to obtaine
 victorie, he must so frame his actions, that not onelye they
 may carry towards him a due respect and reuerence, but
 that they may moze-ouer loue one another greatlye, and
 him especially, therfore he ought alwaies to reward and
 honour those that merites and contrariwise reprocche and
 punish those that are faultie.

140 **T**he power of Fortune is very great in all humain ope-
 rations, yet greater in military affaires then in any o-
 ther, but vnstable, vnmeasurable and infinite in the dares
 of armes. Where a commaundement euill vnderstode, an
 appointed order euill executed, one rash temeritie, one bain
 voice euen of the meanest souldier, doth oftentimes carry
 the victorie to them which appeare to be overcommen,
 where at vnawares doe rise innumerable Accidents, which
 are impossible to be foresane or gouerned by the counsel of
 the Generall or Captaines.

141 **H**e doth most easlye deceiue others, who is reported
 neuer to deceiue, and which doth couer with falshood
 that which is true.

142 **O**ne Judge alone doth very well and easly discearne
 matters, as well those that be true, as those that be
 sinisterly enterpreted. so; so much as hate and enny where
 they are many, may perforce much moze.

How much greater, and how much more important ¹⁴³ things are: so much more they are spoken of, and so much less we doo gather and groupe out the trueth, in respect that one sorte of men belæue and declare for true, those things that they haue heard, whether they be true or false: other some, although part of those things be true, yet alwaies they repozte them otherwise thē they are, and so with time they encrease, and those that come after to those things that they haue heard of their Ancestours, do alwaies adde and ioyne some-thing more.

The heavens doo seldome times graunt that y great ¹⁴⁴ nes of priuat persons ncare vnto Princes, doo endure perpetually, for that the one or the other doth walke them away, hauing thē graunted the whole: there rests no more for them to gape after.

A the hands of the Prince is alwaies expected some ¹⁴⁵ thing more high and greater then of others: And as euery one in particular dooth receiue a good parte, those things that be well done of him: so contrariwise, the Prince is onely the man vpon whom doth fall all the hate and euill will of vniuersall errours.

To procure fauours and authorities, sometimes with ¹⁴⁶ pompe and libertie, sometimes with watchfulnes and industrie, are harmfull and pernicious meanes when they are vsed fainedlye, to open the way to principallitye, and therfore it is the sayings of wise men, that the pathes that leades other men to principallities is very rough and difficult, but when once a man is entred and slipt into them, the fauours and helpes of many doo concurre on all sides.

I oftentimes doubt in my selfe, whether it be given to ¹⁴⁷ Princes from their birth (as in other things it is) to be come propitious and fauourable towards these, and forward and cruell towards these others: or that is infused and placed in our industrie, by means wherof it is graunted vs to walke in a meane path, to the intent that ouer obstinately we doo not oppose our selues against those that

rule:

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rule : and yet neuerthelesse, we are not to suffer our selues to fall headlong into a shamefull flatterie and seruitude, but we ought to proceed in such sorte, that neither through ambition, neither through ouer great couetousnes of glory, we yeld our selues overcome, and therfoze with greater security we doe leade our lines, and with lesse perrill, if we make our selues subiect.

148 **T**he number of those was alwaies verie small, that knew how with prudence to distinguish & discearne the good from the euil, or the profitable from the damageable, but are accustomed for the most part by other mens euents and chaunces to become better and moze prudent.

149 **T**hings that are not premeditated, doe hurt much moze without comparisson, then those y are foresan, therfoze I call the mind of him great, couragious & experts, which doth wel gouern himself, and is not astonished at these perils & accidents which chaunce vpon a sodain & bnauares.

150 **T**hat common saying which is in the mouth of wise men of our time, did neuer please the antiquitie, if it be true : that is, that we ought to enioye the benefite of time, for that they did chuse rather to enioy prudence and vertue, for so much as time doth chuse befoze it al things, and may come with it aswell the euill as the good, but prudence and vertue doth bying forth nothing but that which is good.

151 **A**lthough to know the particular thoughts of man be a thing proper to God: neuertheles, to know in generall the naturall inclination of a people or of any other Princes, is a most easie thing, for the woorkes and operations therof being publike, it is requisite that they shew of force their mindes and desires, forth of the which afterwarde wise men doe gather either moze or lesse then particular draughts and determinations, according to the capacity of him, that hath the charge to penetrate and enter so farre.

152 **I**t was of opinion that I could not perseuer and discover with often reuoluing and thinking vpon y which I could not

not discearne at the first sight: but I knowe by p^{ro}ofe that how much the moze a man doth think vpon his affaires: so much the better they are vnderstande, and so much the better they are perfourmed.

Princes haue suddainlye and speedily that which comes in their appetite to desire, and therefore onelye this a¹⁵³ bone all other things, and without any stay they ought to procure, that their praise and gloze maye at all times and specially if their posteritie be celibzated: for if there be any one that doth goo about to dispraise the same and memorye of the posteritie, he makes shewe that he is not studious in that vertue by the which the same is obtained.

Priuat men in their determinations ought to haue consideration of that which may be profitable for the¹⁵⁴, but the condition and qualitie of a p^{ri}nce is of an other sorte, for in their actions they are to haue respecte to their fame and good name.

Princes were not first created to benefite themselves: ¹⁵⁵ for by that means no man should be put to so greuous seruilitie, but to p^{ro}fit the people, to the intent they might be wel gouerned, therfore when a p^{ri}nce hath moze respect to himself the to his people, he is no moze a p^{ri}nce but a Tirant.

Subiects are better content to haue the p^{ri}nce n^{er} hand ¹⁵⁶ then far off, for desiring to be good they haue moze occasion to loue him, and delighting to be wicked moze occasion to feare him: besides that there doth arise an other benefit that whosener goes about to assault y^e State, doth remain therby the moze duetifull, and if he should resolue vpon the same, yet can he very hardly overcome: for the p^{re}sence of the p^{ri}nce doth worke greater & moze liuely effect in the mindes of those that obey, then the memorye together with the hope y^e is had of his comming can be able to performe.

Greatnes of State is better kept with discrete and ¹⁵⁷ moderate counsell, then with ouer-bzaue rash & headlong handling of our affaires.

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158 **A** Generall or Captaine that doth take glozve and honour for his full scope and small ende, ought to endeavour himselfe to obtain fame: not with the toyle and with the perills of others (as many are vled to doe) but with the sweat and danger of his own person, and by the means of his proper vertue: and since it is a deed worthy of no lesse praise to extinguish the warres with counsel, then to end it by armes: he must goe about sometimes to doe the one, sometimes to doe the other: and let him carrie well in minde that the first successe of things, are those that doe make him fearefull to the enemy: and contrariwise, to be despised, and to be had in small consideration: for such as is the beginning, such oftentimes is the end accustomed to be. Let him likewise be circumspect in vsing of artificiall deceites, for small sinceritie or faithfull proceeding is suspected of him, that men once haue conceived in opinion to be wanted to gouerne himselfe with doublenes and artificiall meanes.

159 **W**e ought euer to carry this consideration in all causes to maintaine our dignitie, the which we oftentimes lose with haste to shew to be resolute in any thing, for those that haue to resolute vs doe esteeme (beholding our instance and care) that our necessitie is greater then perchance it is, wherby it comes to passe, that the standing vpon their puncto, and make shewe to doe vs a pleasure, as though it did proceed of great frendly curtesie, although indeed it fall out to be for their profit, many times there ariseth a certain pertinacie in them, of whom those things be demaunded, which indeed doth worke their owne losse, for by reason of our haste, and of the great instance made to them, they become more proud, and doe not take the offered occasions.

160 **A**s it is a thing most certain, that warres are overcome by preuentions & by diuersions, so it is most true that he receiues naughty counsell, that wout euident necessity, makes an other mans warres. his own proper quarrell.

A capable

A Capable wit that knows how to make choise of time
hath no occasion to lament him selfe that his life
should be shorte. for he that can apply himselfe to infinite
things, and spend his time profitably doth gaine time. 161

MAny preache liberty, that if they did hope to haue a
benefite moze of a State that is strait, then of a
free: they would run thither in poasse, for euery one hath
respect to his owne proper profit, and fewe are to be found
that haue knowledge of gloze and honour. 162

Euery one in this worlde commits errors. for of the
which doth arise damage either moze or lesse, according
to the accidents and chaunces that doth followe the same,
but those haue very euill hopes that abase and intangle
themselves in things of small impoortance, wherof succeds
small losse and as small dishonour. 163

He that desires to be beloued of his Superiours, it is
requisite that he shewe himselfe to vse respect and re-
uerence towards them. for nothing doth moze offend the
minde of our betters, then that it should seeme vnto them
that we do not carry that respect and that reuerence to-
wards them, that they iudge doth appertaine vnto them. 164

Who soeuer hath the charge of a Cittie that is to be
besieged or assaulted, ought to make most mightye
foundations and grounds vpon all those remedies which
prolong the time, and to esteeme very muche euery thing
(although it be verie small) that takes away time from
the enemy: for oftentimes one day, one hower of aduun-
tage doth bring forth some accidents that may set the free
and at liberty. 165

He deceiues himselfe that resolues vpon the firste ad-
uertisements that come and are brought him tou-
ching his affaires, for they alwaies arise with greater
heate and with greater terour, then they fall out to be,
when they grow to effect: therfore he that is not constrai-
ned by necessitie, let him alwaies expect the second aduer-
tisements, and the rest one after another. 166

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- 167 **I**t is almost impossible; but that he which with a great and wonderfull efficacie dooth affirme anything should raise some ambiguitie, to beleue the contrary, yea in the mindes of those that are resolutely determined.
- 168 **W**hen we proceed to give beginning to the execution of any new, great and difficill thing, although it be already thorowly determined upon: but diuers reasons present themselves unto the mindes of men, which in contrary sense may be considered.
- 169 **I**t is very perilous to gouerne our selues by examples, if the selfesame reasons doe not concurre as well in the generall as also in the particular pointes, if the affaires be not ruled with the same prudence, and if besides that, in all the other grounds and foundations the verve selfe fortune doe not play his parte to worke the like effects.
- 170 **E**uen as to suffer our selues to be overcome by our affections, is a seruile act: so to restraine our rage & ire which is an impediment to our counsell, to vse vidozpe tempozatly, which of it owne nature is proude and insolent: to rule our selues and appetites, which is the parte of a staide and worthy hart, and to be humaine, benigne, and liberall towardes our enemy: is truely a most famous and princely qualite, worthy of diuine and eternall memozy.
- 171 **T**here is nothing more proper, more conuenient, more necessary, or more profitable to a Prince, then to be iust, liberall and benigne, for it appertaines to their power and greatnes: to be mindefull of the oppressed, and to releue other mens calamities, and speciall ye for Kinges who are the liuely images of God.
- 172 **W**icked and naughty persons haue power to doe euill, and although they doe it not, it is not so gratefull to behold that they doe it not, as it is noisome to thinke that they may doe it: and therefore without doubt it is a miserable thing to haue before our eyes that person that without any feare, alwaies when he will maye harme. And it almost

most seems an impossible thing that he dooth not hurt. For knowing that the god cannot keepe compaigne or consozte with him, it is behouefull for him to beare them hatred, and knowing that they are followed and fauoured of all the rest that be god: it behoues him likewise to stand in feare of the. Now therfore to escape from him that hates, that feares, and that hath power to do euill: dooth arise moze of aduenture then reason.

My opinion is, that if nobilitie and grauitie (I speak of 173) that wherof men superficially make such estimation) do not consist in any other thing then in the long succession of our auncestours beginnings and euents, and of god counsel: He may be called most noble & most graue, whose knowledge and whose counsell doth spring from these accidents that are bozne from the beginning of the world euen untill this present time.

Euen as it is a great offence for vs to praise those things 174 that are of wicked and pernicious example: so it is no lesse sinne and shame to burye those in oblivion the which through their merites of vertue, deserue to be most highly celebrated.

That Common-wealth where iustice is found for the poze, chastisement for those that be insolent & tirants, 175 weight and measure in those things that are solde for the vse of man, exercise and discipline amongst yong men, small couetousnes amongst olde persons: can neuer perishe.

A Prince ought not to beleue, that to make choise of a 176 good maister for his sonne is of small importance, for if in this point he do not vse very great diligence, he dooth burden himselfe with a great fault: my opinion therfore is, that he ought not to giue the office of instructing his sonne in such sort as other offices are giuen, that is either for requestes, either for giftes, either for importunitie,

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either foꝛ ametic, either else in respect to rewarde some ser-
uice, foꝛ although some of his Subjects haue ben Ambassa-
dours in strange and foꝛaine Countries, oꝛ the Generall
of his armye, oꝛ that he hath boꝛne in his royall Courte
great offices, yet foꝛ all that it followes not, that he should
be apt to instruct the Sonne of his Pꝛince. foꝛ to be a good
Generall, it is requisite foꝛ him to be ful of valour, and be-
rye foꝛtunate: but to be the maister and instructour of a
Pꝛince, it is necessary that he be indowed with great ver-
tue, ioyned together with a settled and staide minde.

177 **I**f the aduersie chaunces of our life, and in the persecuti-
ons of foꝛtune, where industrie and foꝛce dooth a little
helpe, it is the best remedy to eschew of them like men, and
to dissemble them like prudent persons.

178 **H**e that takes in hand to perfoꝛme any enterpꝛise, and
afterwardes doth not know how to issue forth of the
same, oꝛ to bying it to an end, either he shall faile in Con-
science, oꝛ it is ouer troublesome and tedious, foꝛ he that is
afraide of shame, and doth possesse a woꝛthie & noble hart,
either must make an end of that enterpꝛise he hath taken
vpon him, oꝛ else declare the occasion that moues him to
giue it ouer.

179 **T**his difference is discerned betwixt one Pꝛince and an
other, that he that is euill is onely obeyed, but he that
is good, is both obeyed and loued, and besides that a good
and vertuous pꝛince, makes hard enterpꝛises to seem light
but with a tirant those that be light are made most hard,
thꝛough their pernicious naughtines. Vappy is he there-
foꝛe that is obeyed, but most happy the other that is both
obeyed and loued, foꝛ the bodie becomes weary to obeye,
but the minde is neuer wearied, neither ener satisfied with
louing.

180 **A** Good Pꝛince ought neuer to laye handes vpon any
man, foꝛ what iniurie soener he hath done him, foꝛ his
hands ought neuer to be exercised in the reuenging of in-
iuries don against him, but in defending and reuenging
the

the iniuries of those that obey him.

One of those things y^e a wise Prince ought to haue an eye vnto: is, that his Gouvernours or iudges, doe not consent, that in their Common-wealth y^e auncient lawes be broken: and that they induce not new and strange customs, for the people is so variable and light, that euery daye they would haue a newe Prince, and change newe lawes. 181

A Prince ought to make reckoning of his reuēues, but if he forget to redresse those offences and faultes that are committed in his Territozies, and makes no account of them: he is wo^rthy of reprehension, for the people paye their tribute to the Prince, to the intent he may set them free from their enemies, and defend them from Tirants. 182

Those things that terrifie procure enmitie, and against the encrease and proceeding therof, euery one dooth oppose himselfe. but the prowesse of the hart and the bounty of the minde, and these things that are magnificently done, with their shining qualities and beautie: doth moue even our aduersaries and enemies to loue vs, and meruaile at vs, or rather to wo^rship and reuerence vs. 183

Nothing is moze easie, then in our thought and imagination to drawe and set downe in what manner it is better to doe a thing after one sorte, then after another sorte, but to put it in execution is not so light a matter, for that there be many things, the which enpeche, disturb and draw back those that execute the same. 184

It is an honest parte to pardon those that be worse when they doe erre, and to examine himselfe to see if in his minde any defect peraduenture doth lye hid, to the intent he giue not to others that blame which he doth merite himselfe: for oftentimes it comes to passe, either through lightnes or ouerthwartnes, or through y^e haste or rage of our superiours, that those thinges that be well ordained, are spoiled: and those enterprises, that with diligence and discretion are put in execution: fall out to 185

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to the contrarie.

186 **T**hose that doe sharpe and bitterly commaund, and for euery small foresaying that fallies out, become furious and angry and in no case can be pacified, besides that they doe vniustly: they must think that they are enuironed with more enemies then friends.

187 **T**here is great difficultie placed in endeavouring our selues in all things, not only to obserue measure: but also to establish in our thoughtes what measure is, for so much as offices and duties doe change according to the persons, the times, the age, the nature, and the customes of men: the vse of places, countries and according to other things, which are almost without matter: the which variety he that would on a sodaine see and vnderstand, it is conuenient that he be of a sharp wit & quick consideration.

188 **C**ertainlye the substance of riches makes him verie proud and insolent, that possesseth the same as Aristotle doth say in his Rethorick, but he that doth wisely beholde this parte, will say with Seneca, that none is more worthy or nere vnto God, then he that despiseth and scoffeth at riches: The which I doe not denye saith Seneca, that thou shouldest possesse: but I would haue thee to possesse it not fearefully, the which thou shalt doe by this onely meanes: if thou perswade thy selfe to liue happily and in felicity without it, and if thou dost beholde it with eyes, which are alwaies to faile thee.

189 **T**he antiquity doe hold, that wise men onely can do that which they desire, and y^e wicked that which they haue appetite vnto, but not that which they desire, for they doe all thinges whilst by these thinges in which they delight they think to quiet them selues in that good which they desire, but they cannot obtaine it, for those that are wicked can neuer arise to fortitude.

190 **W**hen any man doth go about to bring a wrathfull and furious person into the tearms of reason and iustice: he doth shew himself that either he is not very wise, or ouer diligent.

diligent: forsomuch as when ire is enflamed and that it hath blinded the vnderstanding of many, he cannot be quieted through any consolation that he can haue: neither through any reason that can be tolde him.

Vhen men of base qualitie do appoche and ioine in amitie with the cheefest of the Cittie, and contrariwise when the riche and the mightye receiue those persons that be base and poore into their house: it sames that both of them do not care for the perfection of vertue, but onely intentius about profite or pleasure: the which may be knowne by this, that they do not goe about to procure themselues the seruice of honest men, iust, well mannered, and full of valour: but those that be liberall and rich, if the one and the other may be found: the rich in contrary sorte do not search for others, but such as be painefull, craftye, diligent, profitable and sparing, commending such more then any vertuous quality. 191

Euen as the pride of any person with familiaritie, with often discourtes, and with pleasantnes, is asswaged and made more modest: so with hautesnes, with melancholye and with taciturnitie it is made more lofty and rude. 192

Friends of base qualitie ought to dispise themselues in such sort with their bettters, that not only they do not touch and iniuriously moue the ouer-great familiaritie of the mightye in their iesses: but also confesse that they are bound vnto them for that they are so domestically vsed. 193

Let no man esteem so much his own proper counsel, but that he suffer himselfe sometimes to be gouerned according to the aduice of others: for that man which dooth despise and make no account of other mens opinions, and will onely follow his owne: let him hold himselfe assured, that he shall commit errors in many things. 194

It is no prudence to iudge things by their effects: for many times affaires that haue ben well managed in counsell, 195

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sell, haue had no good end : and those that haue bene euill counselled haue had a good end. And if we should commend pernicious counsellors, for their good end : we should doe nothing else, but giue courage to men to erre, which dooth greatly turne to the damage of Common-wealthes, for alwaies euill counsell falles not out happily, so should we erre if we did reprehend a wise determination, which hath not a ioyfull ende : for that it takes awaye the courage of Citizens to giue counsell to the Cittie, and to speake that which they vnderstand.

196 **W**hen it dooth chaunce vnto vs to denye any thing through necessitie, to assure the person that dooth demand the same of his good will, it is requisite immediately to set an other abroache (if you haue one) to offer him and that largely : in such sorte, as he may knowe that you make account of him, and that you desire to please him, and by this meane blessed with respect, he is sooner satisfied, if he haue any ioynt of humanitie, then by any other means, by the which should be graunted him that he did demand. So men doe suffer theselues to be overcome by the nature of courteous wordes, and become angrie at those actions which are not accomplished with curtesie.

197 **D**etractiō and flatterie are two vices to be shunned of euery honest person, but much moze of those that make profession of god & of exemplar life : for that in such, euery small defect that is discovered, is sufficient to perswade, that their other good operations haue been alwaies downe fainedly, and for any other end then to doe good. but in others that are not bound to so strait a life, but haue alwaies remained in a certaine honest liberty: it seemes that they are noted for lesse vitious, when specially they are directed to doe good, for when we goe about by flatterie to make any one the moze our friend, and not that he by the meanes of our flatterie should become wicked: it is moze to be borne withal. So detractiō or speaking euill of any person, when it is done against any one, which dooth manifest

manifestly emperche principall determinations : and then when any vice of his is discovered, and speciallly of those that doe harme vertue, wherof he of whome euill is spoken doth greatly make profession as should fall out: if of a good profession, he make some naughty and wicked practise, if of liberall, some signe of couetousnes: for all that it is necessary it should be done with so great modesty, and in things so manifest, that it may appeare rather that occasion doth force this, then that it doth arise of thy owne will and pleasure.

It may be saide with reason, that there is no defect, but that occasion may cause it to be accepted for lesse euill : for time is the head and foundation that makes vs able to conclude euery qualitie of busines, how difficult soener it be : as contrariwise, to wooke any thing out of time, is an occasion that those that be easie, become almost impossible.

People ground themselves vpon vaine hope and fallible determinations, hardie when they are farre off from perilles, sainte harted and weake minded when perilles are nere at hand: doe obserue no moderation in their doings.

It is very hard to answer or concur with the conceites of men, wherfoze the most parte are not of a due & mature consideration : neither measuring things with their right proportions.

If publick affaires we ought diligently to consider of the beginnings, for that it is not after in the power of men, to part from the deliberations alreadye made, and in the which they haue perseuered long time, without dishonour and perill.

The hope of foraine persons measured rather with desire then with reason, doe almost alwaies fall out to be fallible and most vaine.

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the selfesame time we could know, that which would haue faulne out if we had proceeded diuerslye.

204 **W**arres are made with the weapons of Souldiers and with the counsell of Captaines, they are accomplished by fighting in Campania, not with the draughtes which those men that are vncerpert in warfare do set down vpon papers, and do paynte out with their Pencilles, or with their fingers or a rod in the dust.

205 **T**hat which is desired of many doth seldome times succede, for the effects of humaine actions both commonly depend vpon the willes of fewe, and the finall end and intention of these, being almost alwaies diuers and varying from the ends and intention of many: the things can very hardly succed otherwise then according to the intention of those, that giue them their first motion.

206 **I**t is a rash temeritie to determine to enter into warres by the which if it fall out vnfortunatly, we are to participate of parte of all the euills, moze then our rates comes to: but succeeding prosperously, not to haue any portion therof, euen of the least parte of the benefites.

207 **N**eutralitie in the warres of others, is a commendable thing, and by the which molestations and expences are shunned, when thy forces are not so weake that thou art to feare the victories of euerye one of the parties: for then it brings vnto thee great securitie, and beerye often their greatnes, meanes for thee to encrease thy state.

208 **M**anye beleue that death is a thing to be desired of those that are in the height of prosperitie, but it is a most happie death of him that dyes, hauing gained a glorious victorie.

209 **V**Ve men do not alwaies discearne and iudge perfectly: it behoues that oftentimes that there be shewed signes of weakenes in humaine vnderstanding.

210 **H**e that hath to make lawes to sundrye persons that haue sundry endes not confor[mable] to his owne: can

no long time make foundation in & confederations made with them, forsomuch as the affaires in confederations, may be by aduerse and sundry chaunces reduced into many difficulties.

Celestiall predictions in prosperity are smally credited, ²¹¹
but when aduersities begin to appeare, they are ouer-
much belæued.

It is a greater difficultie without comparison, to keepe ²¹²
and conserue from the lesse perills that which remaines
when once we begin to decline, then it is to him that doth
enforce & endeuour himselfe to maintain his own dignity
and degræ, if he turne himselfe speedilye against him that
doth go about to oppresse him, without making any signe
that he is willing to giue place.

If those warres commonly made of many Princes, a ²¹³
gainst one alone: is accustomed to arise greater feares
then effectes: for the firste suries are some speedily asswa-
ged, whilst there doth speedily beginne to spring varietie
of opinions, which doth amongst them weaken their
leage of faith.

If the action of armes, the condition and partie is farre ²¹⁴
better of him that staves and expectes to be assaul-
ted, then of him that doth goe about to assault an
other.

The clemencie of Princes hath alwaies brought them ²¹⁵
beneuolence and reputation. Cruelty (where it is not
necessarie) hath alwaies wrought contrary effectes, nei-
ther as many doth vnprudently belæue, hath it remoued
the impediments and difficulties: but encreased them, and
made them greater.

If the armyes of leages, prouisions do neuer concur to- ²¹⁶
gether in one selftime: And amongst so many wills, whe
there is sundry interests and sundry ends, there doth easi-
ly arise, disorders, discords, displeasures & mistrustes, and
neuer

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neuer is there found any prompt speedines to execute gallantly when the fauour of fortune doth shew her selfe benigne and fauourable, neither of disposition to resist constantly when she doth list to frowne.

217 **I**T is a most perillous parte, to consozte our selues in any warre, in the which the mighty prouisions of the confederates may as well hurt as benefit.

218 **I**T is a moze prudent and a moze easie counsell to goe about to establishe amitie with him that unwillinglye would become thy enemye, then with him that at no time can become thy friend.

219 **H**E is to be blamed that through ouer abundant suspicion and mistrust, doth depziue himselfe of those great occasions which he with difficulties and perills hath gained, but much moze he is to be reprehended which doth it through a fearefull and base minde, then he that doth it through generositie and greatnes.

220 **I**T comes by nature, that after suspect followes hate, after hate followes harmes, after harmes followes the familiaritie and confederations with the enemies of him that hath offended, and the determination not onely to assure himselfe, but to gaine: Whereouer, with the ruine of the endamaged, the memozy of the iniurye, greater without doubt and moze displeasent in him that doth it then in him that receiues it.

221 **T**he principall grounds in determining vpon any enterprise be, the iustice and right of the cause, the facilitie and easines to ouercome, the fruit and commoditie of the victorie.

222 **T**he desire of liberty almost a thing naturall in al men ought to consist in the equall proportion of the conditions, artes, and qualities of the Citizens, a most necessary foundation in populare gouernment.

223 **A**S the distribution of Magistrates, and the determination of the lawes dependes vpon the arbitrimēt of fewe: the Citizens then being intentiue, not about publicke

like profits, but about conetous and pziuate affaires, there dooth arise particular sects and conspiracies, with the which the deuissions of the Cittie doo ioyne themselves, a most assured plague and death to the Common-wealthes of empires and governments.

It was neuer accounted wisdome to determin vpon any matter of moment, without long consultation and with-²²⁴ out reuoluing and disgesting the same in our mindes, an infinite number of times.

Of his owne nature nothing is more shorte, nothing²²⁵ dooth liue a lesse while then the memozy of benefites, and so much the greater they be: so much the more they are paid with the partes of ingratitude, so he that cannot noz will not blot them out with requitalles: dooth oftentimes goe about to deface them, by perswading himselfe that they haue not been so great as they were, and those which become ashamed that they were brought into such tearmes that they haue had need of benefites, growe to be displeased that they haue receiued them: in such sorte that hate is of more effect in them, thzough the auntient memozy of their necessitie, into which they did fall: then the bond of the obligation thzough the confederation of the curtesie which hath been vled vnto them.

Where insolence is: there is blindenes, where vaine²²⁶ lightnes is: there is no knowledge of vertue, no iudgement to discearne the actions of others, neither no grauitie to measure that which is conuenient to him selfe.

The pzactises, the preparations, and the opperations of confederates: are differred, interrupted broken off,²²⁷ and varied, accozding to the forces, accozding to the ends, and accozding to the counsellles of Pzinces, whereby it is not easie to make an assured and firme knotte and vnion, where there be diuersities of mindes, variety of wils, and change of conditions and qualitties:

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- 228 **P**rinces that bend of their owne proper inclination to
preferre vtilitie befoze fidelitie, are easilye perswaded
the selfesame that other Princes are.
- 229 **T**he common people of his nature is couetous alwaies
of new things, who are easie to be filled with vaine er-
rours and with false perswasions, euen as the waues of
the Sea are rouled foꝝward with the blasts of winde.
- 230 **A**s of an vnerpert and vncapable iudge. we cannot look
foꝝ a right sentence: so of a people that is full of con-
fussion and ignoꝝaunce, we cannot look foꝝ but by meare
chaunce, an election and deliberation of reason and dis-
cretion.
- 231 **I**t is the nature of men when they departe from one ex-
treme in the which they haue bene holden violently, to
runne voluntarily without staying in the meane, into o-
ther extremeties.
- 232 **T**he successe of warres depend foꝝ the most parte of re-
putations: the which when they decline, the valour
and vertue of the Souldiers likewise decline, the fidelitie
of the people diminishe, the reuenues appointed to sustain
the warres grow to be nothing, & contrariwise the minde
of the enemies encrease, doubts are nourished, and al soꝝts
of difficulties do augment infinitely.
- 233 **I**n all humaine actions it is oftentimes requisite to ac-
comodate and frame our counsell to our necessitie,
neither foꝝ the desire we haue to obtaine that part which
is ouer difficile, and almost impossible to put all to the ha-
zard of manifest perilles.
- 234 **T**hose leagues wherein there chaunceth to be many po-
tentates, are not so firme oꝝ of such concoꝝd, but that
we may hope that they wil become colder, oꝝ some of them
to dis-vnite himselve from the rest.
- 235 **I**t is the nature of men, that those things which in the
beginning present themselves verge terribly: do in
such

such softe cancell and diminish the same from day to day, that if no new accidents doe arise that may make freshe and quicken the terror and feare they haue: They make themselves in the p[ro]cesse of small time, almost assured.

Every one that doth perceiue and smelles out, that there is no account made of him: becomes angry, ²³⁶ anger makes him bolde, or else sometimes to apply himselfe to thinke moste perrillous things the which oftentimes comes to passe: and chæfely if to audacitie, any authoritie be ioyned to some singular quality that is in the person of him that is growne so audacious.

Perrillous determinations and p[ra]ctises, so much the more ²³⁷ are considered of, so much the unwillinglye they are taken in hand: whereupon it doth alwaies come to passe, that those commozations and rebellions that giue space of time to the execution of them: are discovered.

The name of liberty is so woorthy a thing, that no force ²³⁸ can tame it, no time can consume it, and no merite can counterpese it: in so much as to go about to maintain seruilitie in a free Citie: forrain forces are not sufficient, and of those within the same, a man can put no confidence, for those that be now frendes, and comfort others to take vpon them the Signorie: when they haue by the authoritie of their new Lord ouerthowen their enemies, they go about afterwarde as they can or maye, to thrust out the Prince, and make themselves Lords.

To one that is accustomed to liue loose and at libertye, ²³⁹ every chaine is waighty, and every bond doth pinch, although to finde a violent state with a good Prince, is almost impossible: for of necessitie it is conuenient, either that they become like, or else that sp[ea]dilye the one or the other doe ruinate.

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240 **T**hat Citty that would maintaine it selfe moze by foets and factions then by lawes : when one sect doth remain at home without opposition: of necessity it comes to passe, that it deuide it selfe, soz from these priuat meanes it cannot defend it self, the which soz her safetie she had firste ordained.

241 **T**ime is not euer altogether commodious to worke a thing in, in such sort, that whosoever doth expect all the commodities, or else doth neuer attempt any thing: or if he do attempt it, doth perfoyme it soz the most parte to his disaduauntage.

242 **A**S Cronicles which otherwise should be smal, become in warres capitall, hauing against him a prepared enemy, which gines no time to vnderstand them, but doth indenuour himselfe to encrease them with industrie, searching alwaies to dye the victorie wholpe vnto him: so in like sorte, small errors made in demanding of honours, become most gracious and heauye, and a small mutation of our willes doth engender in vs great effects.

243 **I**t is apparentlie seene, that when anye resolution is made, either with ouer speedye or with ouer great affection: alwaies we do that which is euill, soz so much as the one doth not giue vs time to finde out and discipher those things that ought to be considered of befoze we conclude : the other doth so buisie and occupy our mindes that it doth not suffer vs to know any thing, but that which doth vye at that instant. To these two sorts of men two other may be ioyned, and that is that we finde some, that although they haue sufficient time to be able to consider and are voyde of affection: neuerthelesse, thzough a certain natural folly or incapacity, or thzough a continuall negligence they ble in their affaires: do neuer perfozm any god thing or accomplishments to the purpose.

244 **W**hen our affaires are reduced into such teannes, that there remaines no other hope then the prouidence

dence of God : to hazard and aduenture, enter in, to sup-
 plye the place of reason and of prudence, in such sorte that
 we ought not to leaue off to attempt those thinges that
 seeme vnto vs to be of small foundation, in respect of hu-
 maine prudence : for so much as our most blessed Saviour
 and God, many times, to the intent to make the wise-
 domes of the worlde appeare vaine, suffers a some certain
 sorte of people, to runne into great calamities : for that he
 doth giue and send vs his mercie, in those causes in the
 which the grounds of reason doth faile vs.

Euen as melancholly and heavines of the minde vnder 245
 which Ielousie is comprehended : euen as suspicion,
 feare, and such other humours chaunce vnto men and to
 their mindes : so likewise doth the very same fall out in
 the negotiation of our affaires, for so much as after be-
 ginning is giuen to any enterprize, the minister & executoz
 therof be not patient to conserue it whole : then will arise
 vnto him infinite accidents, which will be apt to bring him
 into infirmitie, and mozeouer to make him dye. Wherefore
 it is necessary befoze things are moued, to consider well of
 all those contraries that may fall out, as well of the Am-
 bassadours parte, as of his Princes parte, and as well of
 those with whome he shall negotiate, as of euery other
 person.

It is a wonderfull and very perillous parte for him that 246
 goes about to set at liberty any people, that in any case
 desires to remaine in seruitude and slaerie.

It is a perillous matter to nourish one that hath great
 reputation vniuersallye, for as it is easie to oppresse and 247
 withstand disorders at the beginning, so suffering them to
 encrease, it is a moze hard matter to yeld remedye.

Good Citizens, in the gouernment of Common-
 wealthes, ought to take so much as is giuen them of 248
 men and the lawes : and in so doing they shall neither in-
 curre perrill nor enuie : for that which a man doth take,
 and not that which is giuen vnto a man, doth cause him

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to be hated, and such persons shal obtaine moze then those that going about to get other mens portions lose their own: and befoze they lose the same, live in continual grief and sozowe.

249 **F**oꝛ that seruilitie doth drawe after it the effectes and humoures of feare, and that by so much the moze, by how much it is violent and base, it fallies out of necessitie, that no lesse the Tirant then he that is tyrannised, should be full of terrour and feare: foꝛ he that commaunds ouer seruite persons is not free, and a Tirant being such a one, it followes that he should be seruite as well as his people: and so both of the one side and the other doth arise forcible actes and great indignities, in such maner that feare doth alwaies spring and encrease.

250 **A**lmes, Lawes, and diuine honours in a wel gouerned Citie oꝛ Common-wealth, can neuer be seperated but with destruction of enery one of them, foꝛ that being vni-
ted together, they are maintained entire ruling one an o-
ther, and so sone as they are disseuered: that which per-
adventure without his two companions, did same by it
selfe to be sufficient: doth speedily fall if it be not succou-
red, wherfoze it is requisite that they haue the thre qua-
lities of the soule oꝛ minde of man: which is Vigilatiue,
Sensatiue, and Intellectiue: which are not to make thre
soules, but one onely act by the operation of thre powers,
and so consequentye we are of no value in humaine per-
fections: without reciprocally aide and helpe.

251 **I**n warfare, valour and art are of great worthines, but
their perfection consistes in knowing how to vse moꝛrall
vertues: and vnderstanding poleticke affaires: and in
treading the footsteppes of ancient and good Captaines.

252 **I**n the times and cases impoytant in warfare, we ought
to giue intire auctoritie to him that doth merite the
same.

same, and to put in him the full managing thereof, yet with this promise, that he haue about him Counsellers of good vnderstanding, with whome he may conferre all the whole course of his enterpises.

If the accidents of humaine chaunces, doubtfull causes²⁵³ are alwaies consulted vpon: for it appertaines not to make any consultation vpon those that be certaine: for doubts do spring of that which is within the compass and power of chaunce, and not of prudence: wherefore we ought to consider how many partes there is within the one and the other: for in consultation when a man is not constrained by necessitie, and his beginning dooth depend wholye of his owne will, which is altogether free: he dooth tolle in his minde touching the succession of his enterpise, whither is greater, his hope or his feare: and takes resolution not to attempt the same, when meere chaunce is to haue greatest force: and contrariwise to attempt the same when prudence ought to haue the greater sway.

He that is meanelye wicked, and likewise he that is²⁵⁴ meanelye good, dooth euill in the handes of one that is verye mightilye wicked, but the verye mightye good person, dooth ouercome the verye mightye euill person.

When Common-wealthes are well administr'd, the²⁵⁵ persecutions of the enuious which throught our good woorkes they practise against vs, do fall out to be to our greater aduancement: for being constrained by the trueth, to bying smyth and persourme ades contrarve to their motions and proceeding: they do that against vs, which a racket doth against a tennice ball, the which by how much the moze it is stricken, by so much the moze it doth rebound in height, and therefore in stead of abasing vs, they do exalte vs.

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256 **I**t is no doubt but that other mens continuall lenitie,
doth exasperate our mindes, but euen as the ouer-much
fatherly pardoning suffers the childe to runne astraye to a
licentious and a disobedient life: euen so the ouer-great
abundance of pleasures in a Prince, doth spoyle his Citi-
zens and his Souldiers, and is yet an occasion of greater
domage, when it is vsed with persons of account & degree:
for those that be heads and principallies by offering things
not lawfull, take possession and become maisters of their
administrations: and besides that by little and litle to be
their superiours: And mozeouer, their insolence maye
wooke moze pernicious effects then can that of the multi-
tude, it being very easie to knowe, whither many persons
gathered together bend themselues, as it is a thing of
difficile vnderstanding to discipher the secrets of one man
alone.

257 **W**e may graunt vnto our friends and vnto god Prin-
ces, the entire possession of our goods & of our liues,
but not of our soule: if they cause vs to do vniust and dis-
honest actions.

258 **W**hen the multitude are not well pleased with their
Prince, by beholding the like slacknes in others, and
that they all remain in þe selfesame tearms, they are much
lesse afflicted, and likewise for that not without great cause
they vnite themselues to rebell against a god & legitimate
Prince, they suppozte and beare his displeasure: After
thzough the aboundance of people in a state of sundrie and
diuers humours, and that for the most part are of a weake
vnderstanding, by little and little they forget the same:
But when a man of great account doth not rest satisfied
touching any his important request, he retaines the dis-
daine in the deapth of his minde: and according to the oc-
currence, may conuert it into a pernicious execution.

259 **W**hen a Prince is sought vnto by any great perso-
nage, for any thing of importance: and that he will
not

not graunt the same: he ought to consider of two things. The one is the necessarie circumstances, that is to saye, those things wherof doth spring euill satisfaction, the person that is euill content, and the time wherein the same doth occurre: the other is to be aduertised and haue in memozy, to counterpease one benefite with one that hath ben refused and reiected.

The administration of a peaceable state, is that which doth conserue those things that are gained in time of war, & as the studies of peace yeld ciuil prudence, & which doth accommodate our discourse touching the maner how to make warres: so likewise they maintaine them, after we haue brought backe victorie: For the facultie to exercise warres against our enemies, soiling those men that are not good, but in the same: come to hands together, to contend and to exercise in some sort their wittes and their forces, in the which they are of value, being constrained by their nature and discipline, to worke according to their knowledge, and according to their abilitie.

A Good Souldiour is like vnto bright Steele the which doth keep his bright shining glosse whilst it is in continuall exercise, but being not wrought withall takes rust: rust breeds to an eating canker, and canker makes contagion, in such sort, that right Souldiours which are not good: to any other end then to manage and handle weapons, in times of peace they suffer great damage in themselves: and cause others to be pertakers thereof.

Crueltie and warfare, ought necessarily to be ioyned together: for constraining the wicked to take armes, if we be not well prouided and of good vnderstanding either the common quiet will be continually disturbed, or else we must chase them out of the Citie and State: although the same be ruled with a very good government.

It falls out often in contentions that he which seeth himselfe excluded, or that is fauoured of himselfe, doth runne headlong (setting aparte all respects) rather to some third person,

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person, then to giue place vnto him that doth oppose himselfe against his intention.

264 **M**EN haue no greater enemies then ouer-great prosperities, for that it makes them impotent of themselves: licentious, and bolde to commit euill, and desirous to disturbe their proper benefites and goods, with new deuises.

265 **T**he infamie of timeritie: hurtes Generalls and Captaines, moze then the glozy of victorie dooth benefite them: for temeritie commits many errours, and is attributed wholly to the Captaine, but the prosperous successe in matters of warfare at the least, according to the opinion of men, is communicated to many.

266 **I**t is the office and parte of a wise Generall casting in his minde, how often it is necessarye in warres to varie deliberations, according to the varietie of the accidents: to feare and accomodate from the beginning so much as lyes in him, prouidently for all chaunces, and for all counsellers, for euen as the happie successe of enterprises, gaine to the Generall the beneuolence of his Armie: so those that are vnfortunate get him hate and euill will.

267 **A** prudent man ought not to suspect that smal credit and faith is giuen vnto him: and if he suspect the same, he must so order the matter, that the wicked doe not knowe that he hath suspicion of the: to the intent that through feare, licence doe not increace in them, and that they take not away their diligence & promptnes from others.

268 **T**ouching newe doubts, it is either good to faigne not to knowe them, or else cloake them, not confirming them by beleuing them: for so much as for the most parte either they are altogether false, or else much lesse then that which is beleued of them.

269 **T**hose which exhort vs to doe any thing in the night, are oftentimes moued to commit some licentious errours,

so; that the night couers in them that which the daye doth discover, which is either feare or shame.

Princes in the hands of whom, God did place so; no other end, rule & empire, but to the intent men might haue recourse from the vnmoueable and dead lawes, vnto the quick and breathing: if with the adoyned works of charitie they do not searche to imitate them: they are not onely graueously reprehended of euery one, but they do deseruedlye incurre the displeasure and hatred of his deuine maiestie. 270

Warres at home are much moze difficulte and perillous then abzoade: so; defence is made moze easilye abzoade and a farre off, then at home by our owne dowes: but if it be at home, it is no sound counsell to remoue it further, befoze that which is nere and at hand be extinguished. 271

The malignitie and the impudence of ministers and officers about Princes, maye do muche that other thzough negligence do not apply their affaires, or thzough wante of capacitie do not disearne of them-selues good counsell from euill. 272

The euent of things is commonlye had in consideration of men, by the which sometimes with praise sometimes with infamie, acco;ding as they be either happye or ouerthwart, do alwaies attribute to counsell that which oftentimes pzoceeds of fortune. 273

The first and the charest praise in militarie discipline, consists moze in not putting our selues in perill without necessitie, in making the indenours of our aduersaries baine: by industrie, by patience, and by arte: then by fighting most courageously or furiously. 274

The multitude haue bene accustomed to take pleasure in sweet and delicate counselles, rather then in those that be mature and ripe, and oftentimes account them so; worthe persons that do not measure their affaires prudently. 275

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- 276 **T**hose benefites to him that doth perswade himselfe, to haue receiued many iniuries: are not sufficient to cancell out of his euill disposed minde the memooye of the offences: chafely when the benefite is done in such a time, that it seemes it pproceedes moze of necessitie then of any voluntary desire.
- 277 **T**he counsellors and the secret grounds of Princes affaires & actions, are dispersed abzoade for y most parte in a farre disagreeing sort from that which is true in effect: for it fallies to be commodious for them to do one thing, whilst the woꝛlde doth beleue another thing.
- 278 **P**eaſe is a most desired and sacred thing, when it doth assure vs from suspicions, when it doth not augment perilles, when it doth induce men to be able to rest, and to lighten them of expences: but when it bzings forth contrarie effects, and pernicious warres vnder the name of a traiterous and disceitfull peace, it is a pestiferous venome vnder the name of a hoalesome medicine.
- 279 **A**mbassadors are the eyes and the eares of States, and the other offices the eyes of Princes, but wee be vnto that Prince, that sometimes doth not see without those eyes.
- 280 **T**here is great differences betwixt hauing of the Subjects desperate, and the hauing of them mal-content: for the first do not thinke vpon any other thing then vpon the change and the mutation of the State, the which they goe about to perfoꝛme, with the hazard of many perills: the second desire newe thinges, but they do not stirre by occasions, but expect the comming of them by themselves.
- 281 **W**e ought to look for effectes and not for demonstrations, and superficiall shewes and proceedings in causes: and yet neuerthelesse it is an incredible thing, what grace & fauour, curtesie and humanity doth obtaine vs amongst men, I indge the reason is, for that euery one doth beleue and esteeme himselfe to merite much moze then he doth

noth deserue oꝛ merite : and therefore he becomes displeased when he perceiues, that that account is not made of him that seemes to appertaine vnto him.

Subjects can not be well governed without seueritie, 282
 but it ought to be mixt with dexteritie : by making great demonstrations, to the intent the people may be leaue that crueltie doth not please thee, but that thou dost vse it of necessitie, foꝛ the commoditie of the Common-wealth.

A man must alwaies keepe and reſtraine himſelfe from 283
 thoſe things that do hurt oꝛ not benefite : therefore he ought not to ſpeake any thing that doth diſpleaſe, neither in preſence noꝛ in abſence, without neceſſitie : foꝛ it is a great follie to make people our enemies without purpoſe.

He that enters into perrilles without conſidering of 284
 thoſe things that may impoſe, is to be called beaſtlye : but he that doth knowe them befoꝛe hand, and doth enter into them franchly, either through neceſſitie oꝛ foꝛ ſome honourable occaſions, is to be called a moſt courageous man.

He doth erre and is much diſcriued that doth ſay that 285
 letters and ſtudy ſpoile the bzaines of men, although perchaunce it be true in thoſe that haue weak and vntay- ed heads : but where learning findes a good naturall wit, it makes it perfect : foꝛ a good nature ioyned with a good accident, makes an excellent compoſition.

That gloꝛy is to be accounted vaine the which is gained 286
 oꝛ ſought out by the inuſie of others : but that is the true, honeſt and immoꝛtall gloꝛye, which is gained not by the deſtruction of people, and the ouerthrowe of Citties : but by ſ knitting and vnitig them in god concoꝝp, doth giue them aſſured quietnes, and doth deliuer them from the ſoꝛowes and miſeries that doth afflia them.

New and vnaccuſtomed counſelles, at the firſt ſight 287
 ſeeme to be good and glorious, but they fall out after-
 wards

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wards without doubt, to be more fallible and more perillous, then those that reason and experience hath approued in all ages, and amongst all men.

288 **A**ll the fruite that is reaped by hauing overcome, consistes in the well vsing of the victorie, and not to vse the same well: the infamie is so much greater then not to overcome, by how much the more it is a greater faulte to be deceiued of those thinges that are in the power of them that are deceiued, then of those that depend of fortune.

289 **T**he common people neither haue nor vse any mean, so when they do not doubt, they endeavour themselves to make others afraide: and when they are afraide themselves, then they may without perrills be managed.

290 **D**oubtfull and headlong determinations, appertaine vnto him that hath difficult and sinister state, or vnto him that is picked forward with ambition and couetousnes to make his name famous; and dooth feare that he shall want time.

291 **I**t is fit for prudent men, to consider the perrilles which lye hid vnder hope and couetousnes, and much more the end then the beginning of any thing.

292 **W**ildly affaires are all of them subiect to many perrilles, but wise men know that all that which is evil and may chaunce, comes not euer forward, for either by the benefite of fortune or of chaunce, many perills become vaine, many banishe awaie through prudence and industrie, and therefore we ought not to confound feare with prudence.

293 **T**hose are not to be reputed for wise, that presuppose for certaine all those perrills that are or same doubtful, and being afraide all thinges rule themselves in their determinations, (as if all were to succeed and come to passe) or rather in no case, can we call those prudent and wise, that are more afraide of future things then they ought: for to deserue the name of wise and to be had in praise, appertaines

pertaines muche moze to those that be couragious. For knowing and considering the perilles, they discourse and reuolue in theselues, how often men sometimes haue by chaunce, sometimes by force, valour and vertue, made free themselves from many difficulties.

Wise men, that in their deliberations doo call no lesse into counsell, hope then feare: neither presuppose and take for certaine, vncertaine euents: do not so easilie refuse and reiect profitable and honourable occasions, as rash men do. 294

When as the desire to enlarge, or the ielousie to maintain, or the feare to lose, doth once enter into the minde of a Prince, he neuer thinks vpon, either the circumstances of giuen faith, the bonds of friendship, or receiued benefites: an example heereof may be taken of Lodowick Sforce, who in change to shewe himselfe gratefull to Charles the eight, for the benefites receiued of him: not onely, did not defend him from the perill of losing the state, but did helpe to chase him out of Italye, by violating the faith of amitie: breaking in sunder the league, and turning himselfe to his enemies, only in respect to keepe and preserue his estate, and for feare of the ouer great rising, might and power of King Charles. 295

It is an impudence and a pusillanimitie, where the health and safetie of all persons is touched and had in discourse, to bring indignities into consideration: and not to knowe how to force himselfe to performe the consideration of the State, before his proper will and affections. 296

In taking of counsell, many thinges are to be had respect vnto, but principallye two, prudence in him that hath to receiue counsell, and fidelitie in him that is to giue counsell: for so much, as counsell being nothing else but a well considered discourse of certaine thinges, whither they are to be doone, or not to be doone: if he that 297

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is to receiue counsell be not prudent, he will not receiue that which shalbe offered him as fo; the best: but will followe that which is most agreeable to his owne minde: fo; if he be not prudent, foolish things, will please him: and not being capable of that which is good and true, he will followe that which is naught and foolish: and so peruer-ting all order, it will neuer be possible fo; him either to per-foyme wo;ks, o; giue end to any action that will fall out well. And on the other side, if he that giues counsell be not faithfull: he will so cunningly with a thousand cullours, coner and shadowe the truethe, drawing him back to his intent, end, and purpose: and winding in the receiuer with counsel, that he beleniuing him, in the ende shall finde himselfe to be disceiued: and so hauing taken and tasted wicked and naughtye counsell, fo; that which is good: he will call to memo;re, but ouer-late, the unfaithfulness of his Counsellour.

298 [I]mportant consultations in matters of state, are contained vnder five subiectes and rules, about the which Governours make discourse. What is, either touching the reuenues of the State o; Provinces, o; touching peace o; warres, o; touching the garde of Provinces, o; touching victuailles that are to be brought into o; taken out of the saide Provinces, o; touching the lawes, vpon which affaires he that dooth consult, cannot doo it well, vnlesse he be well informed therof: and moreover, of all the circumstances touching which he is to giue counsell.

299 **A** man ought to take care, not onely: not to take counsell of him that hates him, but also of those persons that carrie hate to others: although they were the enemies of him that is counselled. To the intent, that he by accepting such counsell, it chaunce not vnto him to cha-lice any one of his enemies, o; peraduenture mo;re then he that counsellis him, that he fall not into some incon-uenience, not able to be remedied.

After

After that any potentate hath well consulted vpon
the affaires and pꝛouisions foꝛ warres, he ought not
to varie from his purpose, but ought to be resolute in his
enterpises: foꝛ so much, as to remaine in a doubtfull
minde and to hang in suspence, bending himselfe sometimes
to do one thing, sometimes another, doth cause many dis-
orders, but: which doth greatly impose, is: that he giues
time to the enemy, not so much to thinke vpon the waies
how to defend himselfe, as to make preparations to enda-
mage and offend the.

It is necessary, that he that sets foꝛward oꝛ doth moue
any warres, remaine alwaies prepared and watchfull,
and intentiue in his minde, to euery accident oꝛ chaunce
that ariseth: and be making of pꝛouisions foꝛ all such
things as may chaunce to occurre, and foꝛ his first intenti-
on, he must beware he moue not warres vniustly: and
that he pꝛouide he be not alone, to consider against what
Potentate he doth moue the same, that is to say: that the
enemy haue not the pꝛotectiō of a Prince that is moze
mightye then he that makes the warres: to examine the
foꝛces of his aduersaries, and of his owne: and mozeouer
of those that may be induced to vnite themselves with the
one parte oꝛ the other.

A petty Prince in making pꝛouision of monye, hath
a greater difficultie then hath a Common-wealth: foꝛ,
somuch, as it is not possible foꝛ him that his ordinarie re-
uennewes, should suffice to maintaine him in his estate,
as well foꝛ the new expences that are necessary foꝛ him to
make, and foꝛ the preparations and fortifications to defend
his State, as in respect that he must entertaine many cap-
taines in time of peace to serue him selfe withall in future
warres: and mozeouer, to maintaine himselfe towards
great princes, of whom a new Prince is constrained to de-
pend: and to intertaine other Princes, wherein besides the
conventions that is made with them, there doth occurre
sunbꝛ other expences: foꝛ so much as the officers of great
persons,

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persons, think that they may be able alwaies reasonable to enrich themselves by meanes of the giftes of naturall princes: whilst it comes vnto them, that to draw from those is not so much profitable to them, as it is vnto the Prince they serue: but in a Common-wealth many doe willingly contribute infinite things: carried forward with a desire to procure themselves greater honours, the which oftentimes failes out, by receiving due and worthy rewardes: and if it chaunce they impose and appoint necessarie taxes and payments to be made: It seems that every one doth suppose it easily, whilst it appeares vnto them, that they disburse the same for their own proper profit.

303 **V**hen the charge and care of the Common-wealth is set vpon the shoulders of one person alone, it seems vnto every man that it is reasonable, that a prince abounding in riches, make all the costs and expence that chaunce out of his owne store, considering the profite of the enterprise ought likewise to redounde to himselfe alone: and the mindes of men are naturally most prompt and readie to examine with extreame diligence, all the reuenues of the Prince, and to magnifie them, without making computacion or defaulting the expences, and very often in reprehending many of these things as over-abundant: and not knowing many of their causes, neither examining well the degree or the necessitie of the Prince, become in their payments recusants and slowe: besides that many doe beware and keepe themselves, some for that the same shall not go abroad that he is rich, and other some for that they wil not haue their prince to grow into suspicion.

304 **A**mbition in the Generall of an Army, doth oftentimes ruinate whole States and Prouinces, for if they giue no end to their warres, whilst with their honour or with thier aduantage they may make them: to the intent he may endure the longer in his Generallship: or else sometimes they doe demand such honours or such authorities that it is farre ouermuch: And verie often if they cannot obtaine

obtaine the same, they become displeased, and doe nothing that is good, or else, obtaining the same, they become ouer proud or damageable to the States they serue.

There is nothing moze perilous, in respect of what potentate soeuer, then the contention, emulation and the strife for first and chiefeest preferments amongst many Captains, or to send his souldiers to any enterprize without a head: for so much, as in warres it importes to haue a head that knowes how to commaund, and officers that will obey and put in execution those things that are committed vnto them: for that the one or the other of these thinges being taken away, there ariseth confusion, able not onely to driaue in disorder what armie soeuer, although most valiant: but also, what other thing soeuer that were moze mighty.

One of those principall thinges that a Generall ought to haue next vnto force and valour, I would wishe it should be fidelitie: that which is to be preferred aboue all other things, who ought not neither for displeasure, anger, or for anye thing else, faile of that which is looked for he should doe: and chiesely towards that Prince or potentate which he serues, to the intent nothing may come vnto him that should be his ruine or his shame.

Men ought to haue care to doe their thinges well and vertuously, if they will become glorious and worthy praise, for so much, as of glorie, vertuous actions doe not arise: but of vertuous deeds, doth spring glorie.

The desire of gods doth spring of a base and euill compounded minde: if it be for any other consideration, then that we may enioy the same, but the life of men in this world being so corrupted as it is, whosoouer desires reputation, it is necessary that he desire gods: for that by them vertue doth shine and is had in estimation, whereas in a
page

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poze man it is smally knowne and lesse esteemed.

309 **M**Any doe agree that the state of one man alone is better when it is good, then that of many or of fewe, although likewise good: so in like maner, we maye conclude that, that of one alone maye become moze easilye wicked, then that of many: and when it is wicked, then becomes it worst of all, and so much the moze wicked is it, by how much it goes forward in succession, for it comes verie rarely to passe, that vnto a good and wise Father doth succeed a Sonne like vnto him. Therfore I would that those that make profession of pollicie and government, would resolute me of a doubt, (all the conditions, qualities, and perilles, being considered) which state is most to be desired in a Cittie or a Common-wealth, either to fall vnder the gouernement of one alone, or of many, or of fewe.

310 **I**t is no great matter for an Emperour or King, vsing oftentime the sharpenes and effect of seueritie, to make himselfe redoubted: for that Subiectes become easilye afraid of those that be able to foyre, ruinate, and ouerthrow them with any easie execution: but I commend those muche, that with little sharpenes and executions, knowe how to obtaine and to maintaine the name of terrible and seuer.

311 **T**hose selfesame enterprises, which being attempted out of due time, are most difficile and impossible, when they are accompanied with time and occasion, are most easie to be done: therefore they are not to be attempted but in their due times, for by doing them out of their time: they doe not onely not succeed, but it makes the matter perillous to fall out, in that they haue bene attempted, that they should spoyle that time, in the which they might easily haue ben performed. Therfore those that be patient are accounted for wise men.

312 **T**hese remembrances or records are not alwaies to be observed indistinctly, for that in some particular cases, that haue sundry reasons they should fall out not to be

be good, and what those cases be, cannot be comprehended vnder any rule, neither can there any booke be found that can teach the same: but it is necessarie that this light be first had of nature, and afterward of experience.

To finde out notes and recozds for the profit of one person, is a hard and difficull thing: but it is much moze difficulte to execute the same: for that oftentimes a man knowes them, but knowes not how to put them in action and execution: therefore whosoener will vse them, let him force his nature, and therein to make a habite, by y^e meanes whereof he shall performe so much as is taught him: and besides that there shall fall out to be performed and done, without trauaile, all that whatsoeuer reason doth commaund him, or that experience doth teach him.

There be two times that are chesely good to do our affaires in: the one, when we see the enemy occupied in other affaires: and the other when he is afflicted, as I haue oftentimes comprehended by experience.

Ambition doth enforce many persons to become false, to shut vp one thing close in their breast, and to haue an other prompt and ready in their tung to iudge of amity and of enmetye, not by the measure of effects, but by profit: And to cary greater bountie in their countenance then in their mindes.

Ambition is a vice nearer to vertue, then couetousnes: for that men of valour and men of vile disposition, do desire and encrease equally, glozve, honour, and signozve, but the first doth direct his pace to the true way, and this other, because he wants good arts, doth work by deceites and fraude.

The amitie of the Common-wealth, ought to pzeferue it selfe, rather in publick then in private: leauing off, to giue gifts or presents to any one: for not without perill, that is bought of selwe, which appertaines to many.

Many by fraude and by thestes rather then by good artes enforce themselves to attaine to rule, empire

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and honours, as though supreme and chiefe offices are of themselves cleare and magnificent, and not reputed to be such, as the vertue of those be that sustaine and beare them.

319 **M**Any doe seek for the offices of Maiestrates, not after one manner and one selfe arte: and in like sort after they haue obtained the same; they gouerne the same: firste they are industrious, suppliant, modest, and after with pultronomie and in pride doe lead their age.

320 **A** Generall or Captaine, doth attend and take respect with prudence and with carefulnesse to his affaires, and to the enemies, and doth know that which is good, or that which is pernicious in the one and the other: he spies out his proceeding, his counselles, and doth preuent his trappes and deceites: neither suffer any thing negligent-ly about himselfe, nor assured about them.

321 **A** Generall or Captaine ought to prouide for euery thing, no otherwise then if he had not giuen in charge any of his affairs, not so much in respect y he should mistrust or doubt that his commaundement should not be executed: but to the intent his Souldiours should willingly seek to match and imitate his, in trauaile and paines taking.

322 **A**fore his face, yet ought he rather to stay himselfe resolutely. Then betraying and abandoning those that he doth leade, giue pardon to his vncertaine life with a shamefull flight.

323 **V**nto a Generall comes greater sorowe and grasse through the wicked customes and behaviours of his Souldiours, then helpe or good hope through their multitude, the which is confirmed much more by channing then by chastising of errors.

324 **A**ll those y are to giue counsell upon any matter, ought to be void of hate, without amitie in that respect. without anger & without mercy, I may saye that the like is to be obserued when iudgement is to be giuen vpon the cause of any one.

IT is a thing truely very difficile to be full of valour in battaile, and good in counsell, for the one is accustomed for the most part to bying feare through prudence, and the other small consultation through audacitie. 325

Souldiers if fortune do enuie, their valour ought not to faile in hart and courage without reuenge, neither suffer themselves, being taken like beasts, rather to be cut to peeces, then fight like valiant men, and leaue vnto their enemies the victorie, lamentable and bloodye. 326

HE that is to prognosticate and diuine of other mens determinations, ought if he will not to deceiue himselfe, to haue in consideration not so much that, that a wise man would think meet to be done, as what the braine and nature of the person is which hath to determine. 327

Euie is a sorow and græse that we haue at the gods which other men possesse, and cannot be shunned but of those that be miserable, yet neuertheles it may be much diminished, and sometimes altogether extinguished, with the vsing of humanitie and curtesie, as contrariwise, with ouermuch and proude ostentation and bragging, it is infinitely kindled and encreased: but hate which is a desire that an other man should incurre damage, is auoided either with remaining altogether solitarily and quiet apart (which appertaines not to a noble personage, bozne in the Common-wealth) or by obtaining that which to our power we ought to indeuour our selues to obtain, which is the good grace and beneuolence of all persons vniuersally. 328

The Earle Francisco Carmignuola was accustomed to saye, that the principall rule that men ought to obserue towards Princes, was not to belæue verie easilye that which they speake with their mouth, and that which they make outward apparance of: but it is necessary to consider and to discipher that which with all reason they may imagine they think in their mindes, that is, that which will turne most commodious for their profit, and vpon this they maye make the foundations of their desires and thoughts moze then vpon their words; and likewise we 329

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ought not to haue regarde to the amitie, to the enmitie, to the parentage. or to any thing else whatsoeuer amongst them: for when they perceiue any future profit to arise, they forget all amitie, they quiet all disdain, and make small account of any brotherhood or parentage. and do permit euery respect, so y^t therein may be found some small colour of honestie sufficient to salue y^e apparent shew therof.

330 **E**uen as a good Physitian, when he hath to cure the infirmities of any particular member, it is conuenient that he haue care that, that medicine be not hurtfull to another member: Euen so a man of State ought alwaies to put his Prince in memozy of those things which wil serue the Common-wealth for the preservation therof.

331 **W**hat great diuersitie and difference there is betwixt those deeds that spring of feare and of error, and betwixt those that are moued off fraud and of euill intent, is manifest to euery one.

332 **T**he liberty of Citties do chiefly please God, for that in them moze then in any other sort of government, common benefites are conserued: wherein iustice is administered moze without distinction, and much moze kindles and inflames the mindes of the Citizens, to vse honourable and vertuous actions: and finally they haue moze respect to obserue religion then other governments.

333 **H**e is an vnprofitable Citizen, that for any occasion doth withdraue himselfe to perswade vnto others that which in himselfe he doth feele to be the benefit of the Common-wealth.

334 **F**or a man to moderate himselfe and to ouercome those proper desires his hart couets: is so much moze worthy of praise, by how much it is a rare thing to be able to do it, & by how much the occasions are moze iust wherewith all the anger and appetite of men is stirred vp and moued.

335 **T**he silence of a Prince giuen to demaundes and requests: is tollerable, when it is not done or proceeded in a despising maner: and mozeouer oftentimes doth help,
foz

foz that the lawes, amities, and such other like things, are nourished in him : mozeouer, it doth helpe ouer-much whē a naughty answere is searde, and it is taken foz a despising of the Prince, and if it be a iust quarrell, armes is taken, and doth flie the fault, in that he hath not demaunded the thing, to obtaine it.

The coniectures of all elections, the which depend of the fræ will of many, is difficile and incertain : foz so, 336
much as nothing is moze difficile, then to penetrate and enter into the willes of men, altogether shut vp from all persons, and open onely to God: and nothing moze vncertaine, then to establish and set downe, in so great a motion and reuolution of mindes, vpon what they wil settle their determinations : neuerthelesse, so farre as mans wit may attaine vnto, a wise officer ought to indeuour himselfe so much as he is able, to do his ducie, and not become terrified with the greatnes of the act, to the intent to make him selfe knowne foz prudent, the busines taking effect : oꝝ of a willing minde oꝝ diligence, by not abandoning any due meanes to obtaine the end of his desire.

The opinions of men are so sundrye and so contrarie to things : And we haue besides in vs a certaine necessity 337
which doth foꝛce vs to attempte foꝛtune, although we perceiue that there rest in vs a small foundation in demaunding of the thing : neuerthelesse, drawne by a certaine inspiration, we put our selues in perrill to demaunde those benefites that we are not woꝛthy to obtaine. This thing besides the examples of histories, hath likewise his reason, if not thꝛough the iniurie of him that demaunds the same, to those vnto whome the requests are made, thꝛough their nature, carrying a resemblance of God : whose mercye is poured vpon those that sæk foꝛ it : many times in our own demerites, in our own infelicities, in our miseries, a certaine spirit which is called of the antiquitie Genio, doth prick vs foꝛward to attempt things contrarie to all humane prudence : And they fall out in such foꝛte as we are
not

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not able to finde out the reason therof.

338 **I**T is no infamie to retire our selues, when it is done by
Iprudence, neither is it puslanimitie when it is done to
refuse and shun to put in doubtfull tearmes, those thinges
that be certain: when as the appproching end of the warres
hath to shew to all the woꝛld, the mature ripenes of coun-
sell: sozomuch as no victorie is moze profitable, moze fa-
mous, or moze glozious, then that which is gained with-
out losse, and without shedding the blood of shouldours.

339 **E**Ten as the minde which comonly ought to be mistresse
ouer the body, should become a Tirant ouer the same:
and knowing the excellency of her selfe, should onely think
and care for herselfe, and would graunt no parcell of the
time to the body, he would become weak and feeble: euen
so contrariwise, those that make their bodies Lordes ouer
their mindes, in satisfiing their appetites, not graunting
any parte thereof to their minde: they can neuer become
vertuous, neither haue any valour in them.

340 **C**ouetousnes without doubt is a thing moze to be de-
testad in a Prince then in a priuate person, not onely
for that hauing moze liberty to distribute, he doth depriue
a man thereof, so muche the moze: but also, for that, that
which a priuat person hath, is all to his own vse, and may
be disposed as it pleaseth himselfe, without the iust com-
plaint of any person: but that which a Prince hath, is gi-
uen him for the vse and benefite of others. Wherefore if he
retaine it for him selfe, he defraudeth men of that which he
doth owe vnto them.

341 **T**he affaires of this woꝛlde are so variable, and depend
vpon so many chaunces and accidens, that very hard-
lye, we shall be able to giue iudgement of that which is to
come: and therfore it is sene by experience, that almoste
alwaies the coniectures of wise men are vaine and fallible.
I do not therefore commend the counsell of those which
leau off the commoditie of a present benefite, although
lesse for feare of a future euill although it be greater, vn-
lesse

lesse it be very néer and very certaine, so; that, those things not falling out oftentimes, which thou diddest doubt of through a vaine feare, it comes into thy memozye, that thou hast left off those things that did please thee. and therfore that is a wise Proverb which saith: *Di cosa nasce cosa et il Tempo le governa*, Affaires spring forth of affaires, and Time doth governe them.

Those which giue iudgement in matters of state, I 342
haue sen oftentimes to erre, so; that men doe with reason examine that which a Prince hath to doe, but not that which he will doe.

Well ordered Common-wealths doe not vse to suffer 343
that their confederates, who together with them haue well plaide their partes in their occasions, should be abandoned in their necessities.

Mighty Common-wealths be accustomed not only to 344
desire and will that their confederates and frendes doe not lose any thing: but yeuerye day they may encrease and make themselves greater in fauours, in mightines, and in honours.

When a Prince doth followe vertue, he doth merite 345
to be praised: so; that Princes moze then any other persons are inclined to their appetites: so; somuch, as they hauing bene nourished with small chastisement in their Childehood, most men endeuour themselves to please the, and to followe them in their wates.

Princes so; the most part are moze suspicious the other 346
men, so; y they are giuen to vnderstand sundry doubts and aduertisements, and very often are flattered.

That Prince that can gaine persons with well doing, 347
besides his being in the grace of God: he shewes that he is not blotted with the vice of pride, the which procures hate to followe the vertues of persons.

When in a Common-wealth any doth obtaine & take 348
vpon him the name of Singular in what matter soeuer (although therein he be ignozant) it is a very hard thing

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thing to remoue that opinion, for that men naturallye conceiue and become grosse with the first impressions, the which waring olde, cannot so easilye be defined and plucked out.

349 **H**e that is sent to entreate of peace, ought to be faithfull vnto his Prince, and of a meane age: to y intent that his weakenesse induce him not to do things that are not fit, or at his returne to terrifie his Maister, moze then is necessarie: and that man is rather to be employed therein, which hath receiued fauours and benefits of his Prince then any other.

350 **T**o know the natures and dissimulations of those that are in election to haue great honours, as it is a thing very easie, so is it a thing very wise: therefore the inclinations and the discourses of such persons ought alwaies to be obserued, hauing neuerthelesse an eye, not so much to affection as to common profit.

351 **V**hen any persons do departe from thy enemye to come to enter into thy service great profit is reaped by them, if they be faithfull: for that the forces of thy aduersarie are diminished much moze with those that flie from him, then by those that are slaine: although y name of a fugitiue to the new frend be suspitious, and to the old odious.

352 **I**n warres for the most parte the good fortune of a victorious Prince is nothing else but the euill counsell & base minde of his aduersarie: and therfore very hardly may he be ouercome that can measure and knowe both his owne and his enemies forces: besides that, the valour and vertue of the Souldiours is of moze valewe, then the multitude: and the cituation of the ground doth sometimes moze help their valour and vertue.

353 **H**e that is most bigilant in warres to marke and obserue the determinations and plattes of the enemye, and can endure greatest trauaile to exercise his people: shall incurre least perilles, and may the moze hope for victorie,

toyle, but it is requisite in warres to know how to discern occasion, and to take heede of her, so that she dooth helpe moze then any other thing.

The ambition of honoꝛ and gloꝛy, is a thing commendable and profitable to the worlde, so that it gives men occasion to woꝛk great and high effects: but the ambition of power and greatnes is not so, so that she is taken of others so: an Idole, and will in any ease obtaine all things, either lawfullye oꝛ unlawfullye, and is the occasion of many evils: and therefore we apparentely perceiue, that whosoever doth possesse ambition to this ende, haue no stay of themselves, and makes their life and their gods equall.

Esterprizes and other affaires that are to fall in decay, not thꝛough fury and foꝛce, but are first to consume themselves, draw out moze in length, then would haue been relaued at the first: so that when men growe obstinate to suffer, they suffer and suppoꝛte much moze then we would haue imagined. Therefore we see, that any warres which is to take end thꝛough famine, oꝛ thꝛough any other commoditie, drawes out further in length then we would think.

He that first gaue vnto the people this woꝛd Popolo, would verily haue tearmed it vn Pazzo, A Fole, so that he is a monster replenished with confusion and errors: so: so much as his opinions are so farre off from the trueth, as according to Tolome, the East Indies is from Spaine.

I Can neuer flatter my selfe, to make shew of those things that are not so in effect: neuertheles, it should be much moze profitable to doe the contrarie, so it is an incredible thing to be spoken off, what benefit the reputation and the opinion that men haue that thou art great, will woꝛke, then so that onely by the means of this rumoꝛ they run after thee, without needing to clime to the height to make shewe of thy selfe.

358 **T**he libertie of a Common-wealth, is the administration of iustice, so; that the foundation thereof is laide to no other end, but that the one be not oppressed of the other: Therefore he that might be assured that in the state of one alnoe, or of many, Justice would be obserued: Should haue no occasion to desire liberty. This was the occasion wherfoze the wise men of olde time did not praise the gouernement of those that line in liberty, moze then the rest: but those in which there was best prouision made so; the preservation of the lawes and iustice.

359 **M**en, Iron, Money and Bread, are sinewes of the warres, but of these foure the firste two are most necessarye: so; that Men and Iron will be able to get money and Bread, but money and bread doe not prouide so easily so; Men and Iron.

360 **N**ew and soddaine thinges make afraide and terrifie Armies, those that are accustomed and sure, are smallye esteemed of them, therefore a Generall ought to practise and make knowne to his Army, with light & small encounters, a newe enemy, befoze he come to a day of battaile with him.

391 **A** Prince when he hath about him his familiars, doth distribute his fauours amongst them that are most gratefull and most conforable to his honour, but when a time of necessitie and occasion of affaires falles out: then the diuersitie and difference that is amongst them is apparently known.

392 **A** wise personage, which hath the meanes to entertain ten thousand footmen, is moze to be feared and esteemed, then ten confederates together, which haue euery one of them five thousand: so; that very seldome agreeing together, by reason of their sundrie and diuersitie of ends: the one halfe of the time is lost and spent, befoze they resolute vpon any thing.

If a man would serue a great person, let him rather chuse
 a wise man then ignorant: for about a wise man there be
 many meanes to be found, by the which his fauour is ob-
 tained, but about one that is ignorant: there can no
 way be found that is good, for that he hath no vnderstan-
 ding. 363

The true note of the ruine of a Prouince, doth appeare
 when those that ought to vnitte themselves together,
 become denided amongst themselves, and do band them-
 selves, to be abandoned. 364

He that gaue this rule, that a wise man cannot com-
 mit error in speaking, had no iudgement: for that
 either because he is affectioned to the matter which is spo-
 ken off, either for loue, either for hate, or for that he would
 be contrarie to another: and sometimes through the in-
 disposition of his person, he is subiect to commit errors in
 his words. 365

The affaires of the world do not alwaies remain sta-
 ble and firme: but are euer in continuall motion to
 go forward into that way and path into the which by rea-
 son they are to goe, and where by their nature they are to
 take end: but oftentimes they make longer staye then we
 would beleeue, for that we do measure them according to
 our life, which is shorte: and not according to their time
 which is long, for that their fate be more doe then ours
 be, and farre doe themselves by nature, for although they
 moue, yet oftentimes we do not perceiue their motion,
 by meanes whereof it doth arise, that those iudgements,
 which we make: fall very oftentimes to be false and fal-
 sible. 366

In matters of importance, he that doth not very well
 knowe all the perticulars, can giue no right iudge-
 ment, for that one circumstance although it seeme very lit-
 tle, dooth change and varie all the whole cause, that
 ought to be iudged, yet is it true, that oftentimes
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he may giue god iudgement, that hath knowledge of no other then of Generalities, and knowing moze particulars, giues worse iudgement, soz somuch as he that hath not his bzaine very perfect, and cleane and free from passions, vnderstanding many particulars, dooth verge easlie varie and confound himselfe.

368 **A** man ought aboue all thinges in this worlde to desire and to attribute to his sturie felicitie, to see his enemy stricken prostrate to the ground, and brought into such state, that he may vse him at his discretion: but by how much the moze happie he is vnto whom this aduerture doth befall: by so much the moze ought he to make himselfe glorious, by vsing the victorie commendable, in pardoning and in vsing of clemencie: a thing proper and perticular to great and worthie mindes.

369 **A** inferior Prince ought neuer to put his state in hazard of one battaile, soz if he ouercome, he gaignes nothing but glozy, and if he lose: he is spoiled.

370 **G**reat personages are often much enclined to their own willes, without hauing any respect at all to reason, and that which is worst, they are soz the most part environed with men that cast their eyes vpon nothing else, then to praise and congratulate their good and euill doings, whither soeuer they be, and if there be any that would doe the contrary, he findes him selfe deceived.

371 **T**hose Princes which are equalle in power, (although they be not young, soz at such times they thinke onely vpon pleasure) doe not well to meet and come to speak personally together, soz somuch as, besides that they doe not without perill, euil wil doth spring vp betwixt them, and enie growes to be greater.

372 **A**lthough the issuing and falling forth of souldiers, out of a Cittie besseged, be necessarie: yet neuertheless, they be perillous to those within: soz that it imports them much moze to lose ten of their infanterie, then it is to them without to lose an hundred.

It is a manifest thing to every one, that he that doth al-
waies holde his Prince in tearmes of suspicion, and
feare, with aduertisements stuffed with feare and suspi-
tion: either will become to be mortallye hated of him,
or in the ende shall fall into some other euill incon-
uenience. 373

How that doth possesse authoritie and rule, maye like-
wise offend the same ouer his owne forces, so; that 374
his subjects doe not measure equisittlie, that which he can
do, but rather imagining his power to be much moze then
it is, yeld to those things vnto which the Prince can not
constraine them.

It is to be discerned in those differences, that doe arise
with vrbانيت amongst Citizens, and in those malici- 375
ous humours, into which men doe incafre, allwaies to haue
recourse to those iudgements or to those remedies, that of
the antiquitie haue been ordained: so; that the ciuill lawes
is nothing else, then Sentences giuen by the ancient law-
giuers, the which being brought into order, do instruct our
present Lawyers how to iudge: and Whislike likewise is
nothing else, but the experience which hath bene made by
auncient Whisitions, vpon which the Whisitions in these
our daies doe ground their iudgements: neuertheless, in
the ordering of a Common-wealth, in the maintaining of
States, in the gouernement of Kingdomes, in the milita-
rie institutions, in the administration of warfare, in iudg-
ing the Subjects, and in the encreasing of the Empire
and State: There is to be found, neither Prince, neither
Common-wealth, neither Generall or Captaine, nei-
ther Cittizen, that haue recourse to the examples of the
antiquitie.

There be infinite persons that read Histories, and take
pleasure to hear the varietie of accidents, that are con- 376
tained in them, but they neuer thinke vpon the imitation
of them: so; they imagine and iudge the imitation, not
onely vnsittlie, but also impossible, as if the Heauens, the

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Summe and Starres, the elements, and men, were charged in their moving, order, and power from that that they were in auncient times.

377 **M**EN doe worke their affaires, either by necessitie or by choise: and so that it is sene, that vertue is greater where choise hath least authoritie: it is to be considered, whether it should be better to choise a barren place for the building of a Cittie, then a fertile: to the intent that men being constrained by industrie, being lesse subiect to idlenesse, may liue the more vnitied together, having by reason of the place lesse occasion of discorde: This election or choise might be accounted wise, if men would be content to liue of their own, and would not goe about to commaund ouer others: and so, so much as men cannot assure themselves but by power, it is necessary to hunt those barren places, and to plant our selues in a most fertile Countrie, where they may be able through the abundance of the ground, to enlarge their bounds and limits, to defend their bounds and limits, to defend themselves from those that assault them, and oppresse them, whosoever would withstand and oppose themselves against their greatnes.

378 **M**EN doe neuer agree to any newe Lawe, which bring a newe order into the Cittie, if it be not apparentely shewed vnto them, that of necessitie it is requisite it should be done: now then, that necessitie not being able to come without perrill: that Common-wealth doth easily runne into ruine, before the Lawe be brought to the perfection of a right order.

379 **E**uen as amitie betwixt particular Gentlemen is contracted by a mutuall agreeing of their mindes, and by the similitude of their good customes: so amongst Princes amitie is wrought, either through their owne correspondence of nature, or through the iudgement they haue, that it fallies

is falled out to their continuance to be friends, or else through necessity and fortune: which againste their own willes, constraines them to remaine united.

Man opinion is that adversity to time, is the touchstone of our friends and followers. For that those that remaine, are such as are good, faithfull, and full of constancy. 380
 While rest that fall away: are unpittable, naught, and an example of lightnesse; and I beleeve that of adversity this profit is reaped: That touching thing a base, which may being away from him, the whole traine of those men that are base of minde and body, repenteth with their follies and ingratitudes. And those only remaine with vs: that desire to follow by the vertue and valour of their minde, that they cannot be overcome by aduersitee to fortune.

And those that discourse of the manner of Civil life, and all histories are full of examples: That he which hath the disposing of a Common wealth, and both of daime lawes in the same: it is necessarie that he presuppose, that all such men as be wicked, will ever apply themselves to be malignant, so often as occasion is offered. And when any malignitie hath remaine hid for a time: it hath proceed of some occasion, the which because experience hath not bene seene to be made of the contrary, comes not to be knowne, but time hath afterwards discover the same, which is the father of all treachery.

Men can neuer performe any action well, unless it come through necessity, for where choice hath abound and that liberty may be used: suddenly all things is filled with confusion and disorder. Wherefore it is saide, that hunger and pouertie makes men constant: and the lawes makes them good: and where any thing of it selfe doth well, there is no necessity of lawes. 382
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but when that good custome doth faile, immediately lawes
are necessarie.

383 **E**uen as waylers haue for their guide, the South and
the North, who sometimes do traueise and crosse their
way, and yet for all that do not altogether lose their guide:
Euen so in matter of State, it is necessarie to haue for
guide, and for principall and chiefe foundation, the know-
ledge how to pearce into the nature and endes of those
with whom we haue to entreat: for that by this means
a man very rarely shall be deceived, and without this
ground be taken his iourney at aduentures, and all the di-
ligence be doth vnsuayning.

384 **T**he nature of neutralitie is such, that he is most hurt-
full and full of perilles: for he offends both the par-
ties, the superiour for that he indgeth that we ought to
sustaine and saue his greatnes, the inferiour for that he
is not defended, reputes himselfe offended: therefore the
one doth neither assure vs from our enemies, nor the other
doth maintaine friendship towards vs.

385 **A**lthough it appeares that neutralitie makes a man
secure and quiet amidst other mens troubles, yet trus-
teth it dooth not fall out so afterwards: for that he dooth
feed others with a false securitie and quiet, considering that
in short time the damages therof do discover themselves;
no otherwise then it is accustomed to chaunce, to those
who haue taken money to lurre, for although they enjoy
the same well for a certaine time, not tasting any bitter-
nesse at all, being afterwares consumed, and the day and
time to reuenge them being come: they make apparent
proofe of that greivous damage which they haue procured
with so short a commoditie.

386 **A**t all times wise Princes ought to discourse of their
affaires, with mature councell, and prudentie, to re-
solue ther-upon: but when they are in yeres and times
that be full of troubles, and troublesome, then haue they
much more need therof then in times that be full of rest and
quiet:

quiet: for that in these the greatnes of his principallitie doth gouerne and holde him vp, without muche trauaile and toyle: in the other they are environed with many perilles, and supposed with infinite difficulties, from the which to defend and keepe themselves, doth for the most parte procede of the rare and hye vertue of a prudent Prince, who can with a godd and resolute execution shunne the euill, and cleaue to that which is good, but no godd execution can be made, without godd prouidence: neither that without a godd resolution, neither can resolution be made without godd counsell, the which is the head, fountaine, and originall of all godd operations.

A Man ought not to departe from the first purposed plot and forme of his life, without euident and most necessary occasions, as did Cato Uticensis, who did rather chose to kill himselfe, then to fall into the hands of Caesar, therfore a wise Prince ought to doe the very same, holding alwaies firme and fast his first and his godd resolution.

That Prince which doth remaine a neuter, euerye one doth goe about to imbrace him: and to drawe him to their partie, for that the desire they haue to haue him for a frend, causeth euery one to make account of him and to honoꝝ him, thinking to gaine him with benefites, and so by the meanes of neutralitie, he doth enioy great securitie: wheras if he should declare himselfe, he should make one of them his manifest enemye, and should thrust himself into expresse perilles.

Men doe moze easily remember iniuries, then receiued benefites, therfore that Prince which doth declare himselfe, doth much moze harme then helpe himselfe, for that he with whome he doth confederate himselfe, is neuer so whot to defend him, as he against whom he is declared, shall be redy to endamage and offend him: it being a naturall effecte that men should become muche moze stirred vp and moued with iniuries, then with benefites: besides that, in receiued benefites euery one doth attribute them

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a parte of his enemye, but iniuries are all attributed to him that hath been iniurious.

390 **I**s is a most certaine thing that warres draw after them many difficulties, and most great expences, which are occasions of many evils: in respect, that first of all it empties the princes purse, and makes him weake. Since moneye is not onely the sinewes and strength of the warres, but of all other humaine actions, next after it constraines them, so much to oppresse the people with new and sharpe exactions, that it doth breed them extreame hate: from which euery wise prince ought to keepe him selfe. For that the hate of the people is the roote of that which byinges rulers to ruine.

391 **I**s is disputed amongst some, who is most ambitious: either he that would maintaine, or he that would obtain: for that both the one and the others appetite, maye be an occasion of great Tumultes, and it is concluded that for the most parte those tumults are caused of them that possesse, for that the feare they haue to lose doth engender in them, the selfesame will that is in those which desire to gaine: for that men think they cannot surely possesse any thing, if they make no newe gaines: And moreover, by possessing much, they maye with greater power and with greater motions and stirre make alterations and change: besides all this their corrupt and ambitious behauiours, kindling by in the best of them that haue possessions, a will and desire to possesse, and to reuenge themselves of them, by spoyling them, makes them to be able also to enter into those riches and those honours, that they perceiue to be euill vsed of others.

392 **I**f all humaine causes this is perceiued (who soeuer doth examine it well) that we can neuer race out one inconvenience, but that an other doth followe: And therefore if we desire to make a people to encrease to great numbers, and to be armed: to the intent to set vp a great empire,

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we make it of such qualitie, as we shall not be able to manage it after one discretion and maner: and if we maintaine it small and disarmed, to the intent we may guide it the better: if we gaine any dominion, we are not able afterwards to keepe it: or else we shall become so vile, that we shall fall to be a spoile & pray to whosoever doth assaulte vs. Therfore in all our opinions and determinations, we ought to consider, where the inconueniences are least, and to make choise of the best partie: for that they be neuer found to be altogether cleare, altogether secure, and altogether without suspicion.

It is requisite that those that are principall and publicke Paistrates, haue three things in them: One is, that they loue the State of their Cittie and Common-wealth, another is, that they haue authoritie as may be sufficient if neede require to force men: the third is, that they be knowne for persons that be iust and full of valour, but it is necessarie to haue in minde, that if such as these would beare rule and commaund. it behoues them whille they are young, to learne to be gouerned and commaunded of those that be olde.

Whille Princes are at hostilitie together, and spend out of all measure in their warres: he that remaines neuter, maye gather together a great summe of money, and strengthen himselfe in such sort, that if warres being ended, they shall become weake through many expences, and be gallant and mighty. The consideration of which thing maye be an arbitrament of their difference and discentions.

Although to remaine neuter is not a thing verie free, yet at the least it cannot be denyed, but that the resolution of the contrarie is verie doubtfull in this case, the wisest parte is for vs not to moue at all, for that when there ariseth a doubt whither any new deliberation be good or not: we cannot do better then followe the olde

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determinations, and chéefelye when the other are found to be hurtful, in summe, the old and wonted way is rather to be folloved, then the new and vnapproued way.

396 **W**hen a Prince is instantly required to vnite himselfe with the one of any two that makes warres, and that he makes refusall both to the one and the other: he enters into suspicion with them both, that he hath secret intelligence with some one of them: and eche of them both doth imagine & esteeme him to be against himselfe. In such sort, that which soener of them both ouercome, makes a pray of the newter, wherupon it will arise, that he shall holde both of them for suspect, and neither of them for frénd.

397 **I**f that Prince which doth declare himselfe, it is conuenient that one of these thre things do followe: Either that he with whom he ioynes himselfe remaine vanquisher, or that he lose, or that the matter be managed in such sorte, that he neither lose nor winne: in the first case he procédes to expresse gaine, by entring into parte of the vidozie, in the second he incurres perrill to lose, but yet therin is this difference, that at the least he hath a frénd for his colligate and confederate, who although he haue losse, his case is not such, that he cannot or that he ought not to minister helpe, and it folloves not, that his fortune may not rise vp againe: in thre, it is better to hazard our fortune with a good frénd, then to remaine in feare to be offended and iniuried of both of them: In the thirde case, more is to be gained then to be lost: for that we obtaine a good frénd that may much profit vs: and he that we make our enemye, doth harne vs no more then that he did him whilst we remained neuter, although apt occasion did offer it selfe.

398 **I**f all the resolutions of the world, both good and euill is mixed amongst them, ordained of God, to the intent to shewe forth the imperfections of humane causes, but prudent counsellies ought to compare the euill with the good,
and

and counterpease them in equall ballance, and on that side where the least euill is and the most good, to cleane to that parte.

MEn hauing for small end goodnes, and the conseruation of their good, they cannot by any reason be called ³⁹⁹ inconstant: for so much as when affaires doe change, it is conuenient also that a man doe change his thoughtes, for all that foresawing the selfesame small end, ever remaines firme: And in this case it is necessary we imitate the good gouernour of a Ship, who ordering and setting the sayles after one sort, to bring him to a determined place, when afterwards the time dooth change, and contrary windes arise: he also dooth change his firste order, hauing alwaies for small ende the good and the benefite of the Ship.

That rule which is giuen to remaine neuter, to the intent to weaken other, and to strengthen our selues: for ⁴⁰⁰ the most parte doth not fall out to be true, for that the victorie of one of the parties doth draw with her so much reputation, so many partakers, and such a train of fauourers, that alwaies the onercommer shewes himselfe to be strong and gallant, whereby he maye rather iniurpe his companion, then that he should be afraide of other mens threatnings.

It is euer good to ioyne & knit our selues with those that haue the heauens benigne and sauozable vnto them, for ⁴⁰¹ that therby a man doth alwaies participate of y^e qualitie of his companion, whither soeuer it be good or euill.

For that humain affairs are almost all subiect to chance ⁴⁰² and haue no assured stay in them: a wise man ought to cleaue to that which carries most apparent likelyhood, and therein to take order with all due meanes, for that for the most part it will fall out to be well, and shalbe besides accounted prudent; and if it should haue an unlucky end: yet in such a case it would appeare to wise men, that fortune had greater power therin, then prudence.

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403 **G**od Souldiers haue néede of a god Generall Cap-
taine, who may be their guide in all things, of whose
actions doth depend for the most parte, the exaltation and
ruine of an Armie : therfore the Briske Proverb did say,
That an armie of Hartes that hath a Lyon to their Cap-
taine, is moze terrible then an armie of Lyons which is
guided with a Hart. But it is requisite that in an Armie
there be both god souldiers and a god Captain generall,
to the intent ylike may not be spoken therof, that Cæsar
spake : who going against Pompei saide : he went against
a Captaine without Souldiers : and after wardes going
against Afranius in *Spaine*, saide : that he went against an
Armie without Captaines.

404 **M**oney without doubt is the nourishment of an army,
the which giues measure to euery thing. and is con-
verted into euery thing : therfore that wise auncient man
saide, the Captaines, the souldiers, their armes and wea-
pons, the instruments and engines of warre, the artille-
rie : and excludung money, were like vnto a bodie which
had a head, armes, neck, brest, legges, feet, but no belly, for
euene as the bellie giues nourishment to all the bodie : so
mony doth giue substance to an Armie. And that King of
Sparta did call it the sinewes of warre, for euene as the si-
newes giues mouing to the bodie, so monye giues life to
an Armie.

405 **T**he doubt of the fauour and god grace of our Lord
and Prince, although a man haue not faulted against
him, is a thing common to manye. neither is it necessarye
that, that feare which is had of our Lord & maister should
be attributed to basenes of minde, neither much lesse to the
lightnes of nature, for that the diuersitie and crueltie of
our desire caused through the diuersitie of accidentes,
(whilste our wordes and actions, doth manifest a cer-
taine courage and constancie) ought either to be reputed
for the signe of a bolde and constant person.

In my opinion he hath no great reason to lament himself, 406
that at any time hath bene contented to make himself e-
quall to others, referring himselfe to chaunce: The which
fo; no other respect, hath bene induced and brought into a
Commonwealth, but only to take away, all sortes of con-
currences & inequalities: and to content equally every one.

Men doe very rarely complaine of themselves, but very 407
often of others: and so; the most parte, doe willingly
rage against Chance. fo; so much as since every day there
doe succede newe and strange chaunces, and not understan-
ding the occasion, neither the meanes by which they are
wrought: sodainlie we giue the praise o; the blame vnto
Fortune.

The Affaires of men being in revolution & motion, and 408
not being able to stand firm & stedfast: it is convenient
that they arise vp, and discend downe. And to name things
that reason doth not induce vs, necessitie doth induce vs:
In such sorte, that hauing ordered and fashioned a Com-
monwealth, apt to maintaine it selfe without enlarging
of it, and that if we were constrained, by necessitie to en-
large it: It would come to passe, that we should remoue
our foundations, and make the Common wealth soner to
ruinate. So on the other side, if the heauens were so bene-
ficiall vnto vs, that our state should haue no neede to make
warres: It would ensue, that idlenes would either worke
deuision amongst vs, o; make vs effinate. The which two
thinges together, o; either of them by her selfe, would be
an occasion of our ruine. Therfoze since we cannot (as I
beleue) ballance these thinges, neither precisely keepe the
middle path: it is necessary that in the directing of a Com-
monwealth, we should think vpon the most honorable par-
tie, and order it in such sorte: that when through necessitie
we should be brought to enlarge it: we may be able to keepe
that which we haue gotten.

The offence and damage of a private person againste a 409
private person: doth engender feare, feare sakes so;
defence,

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defence, defence doth procure partakers. And immediately parties and factions arise vp in a Citie or state, and such partakings doth ruinate the same.

410 **W**hen it apperes or is perceiued that forrayne forces be called in by parte of those men that liue in one selfe Citie or state: It may be thought, that it springeth of the naughtie orders therin vsed, so that there is no orders that can (without extraordinary meanes) extinguisht those malignant humours that arise in any person. Therefore we ought to prouide by the way of accusation, but as accusations be profitable to a Commonwealth: so defractions are damageable.

411 **D**etractions or calumnies haue no need of testimonies or any other perticuler circumstances to proue them, In such sorte that euery one may be detracted of any: but not accused. For so much as accusations haue need of pꝛoues and of circumstances that may shewe the truth of the accusation.

412 **W**e ought to obserue this generall rule, that neuer or very seldome it doth chaunce: That any Common weale or Kingdome, is at the first well instituted, or at all, being made newe and reformed out of the olde constituted Lawes, if it be not set in due rule and order by one alone. Therefore it is necessary that one alone, may be the man that may set downe the manner, and of whose minde may depend what institution or ordinance soeuer. For a prudent commaunder of a Common weale, which carries a minde to benefit, not himselfe but the comminalltie: ought to endeouour himselfe to swaie alone the whole Authoritie, and a wise man would neuer reprehend him, that to constitute a Kingdome or Common weale: did vse any extraordinary action.

413 **W**e ought to reprehend him that is violent to spoyle, but not him that is violant and of a forward nature to adorne and polish: For that the violence to adorne be comes a vertue, and to destruye: a vice.

MEn are accustomed to iudge largelye of themselves, 414
 and of their proper merites, and beholding the suc-
 cession of thinges as we doe for the most parte, and seeing
 some out of all expectation and peraduenture without me-
 rite, without reason, or at the least without proportion:
 and by contrary waies & proceedings, to be placed in high
 degrees and estate: their hope doth awaken in such sorte,
 and they procede so far in their thoughts, that measuring
 with their eyes the height whither they determine to as-
 cend, suddainly they flye thither with their imagination,
 and doe place themselves vpon the tippe and height thereof,
 but afterwarde being entred into the troublesome & cro-
 ked path, and the way euery day encreasing, they become
 afflicted, fall into lamentations, and sometimes also dis-
 spaire to be able to attain vnto the same.

Not onely the god being, but also the simple being of 414
 thinges doth principally depend vpon the conseruation
 of the sojme and small ends: and the one and the other is
 maintained in the Common-weale by two means, that is
 to say, by the lawes and by Magistrates: And therefore
 where these thinges are not obserued, and whereas in these
 cases such men as are not fit for such like charges are vsed
 in maneing the same, it fallen out of necessitie, that there
 must follow great alteration.

Men doe for the most part settle and staye themselves 415
 in thinges present, as well for that euerye one dooth
 not pearce and enter with the eyes of his discretion into
 the nature and future state of thinges, as also for that the
 remedies of damages are not endowed with glozy, when
 they are neither doubted nor knowne: and few there be to
 be found that in publick causes will recompence their present
 traouailes with common commodities that are to come: or
 rather which at the least doe not suffer themselves to be de-
 ceiued with the great and large hopes, which future acci-
 dents doe promise.

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- 419 **T**he very same dooth chaunce vnto Common-weales,
which is accustomed to fall out in the body of man, vnto
whome his euill minded appetite is an occasion of disor-
ders, wheras after spying infirmities, with the trainail and
grasse of the body and of the minde together, so it fall-
eth out, that a certaine sensualitie (to tearme it so) hath pro-
duced and dooth produce many defects in a Common-
weale.
- 417 **D**igne without reputation, is a losse without gaine,
it being esteemed a payment that procedes of duetye,
and not a gift comming of curtesie: so that it rather giues
courage to him that hath receiued y^e same, still to demaund
other thinges, rather then to recompence those he hath re-
ceiued.
- 418 **W**hen so; what occasion soeuer alterations is once
made in the States, and that they straye aside from
their finall ends: infinit difficulties rise vp together with
the same, and alwaies goes forward, encreasing amongst
the gouernements: Example hereof was giuen by the
Common-wealthes of *Candie* and *Sparta*, which were in-
stituted and instructed in warrefare. The very same did the
Romane Common-weale, who so; the remedie of their
troublesome state, were constrained to goe abroade conti-
nually to make warres: to the intent that those euill hu-
mours might be consumed, that with rest did spring vp a-
mongst the Citizens: at the ende when they had no moze
to overcome, overcoming and ruining themselves:
they reduced themselves vnder another forme of state, so;
somuch as the end being once changed, it is an impossible
thing to stand firme and fast in the obseruation of y^e mean
and of the auncient institution.
- 419 **T**he way how to manage States, although it ought to
be somewhat the moze open, because it is to receiue in-
to it the greater number of persons, neuertheless, in the
beginning (so; that much trust is required) the entraince
thereof is very difficile, and it is much moze conuenient so;
as to

us to be called vnto the same, then presumptuously to intrude our selues therinto, if a man doe not make profession thereof, he is neither knowne nor reputed for sufficient, and if he make profession therein, the same is on the one side odious, and the other side is also hurtfull to his owne iudgement: and he that makes this profession, doth oftentimes discourse so much, that he doth over-passe his bounds, and doth foze the we many false propositions: and finally is reputed of wise men, like vnto those souldiers that braue and bragge it out in the time of peace.

He that doth serue a Prince a farre off, hath very hard meanesto satisfie him: for that those errors which are committed are of the greater importance, and cannot be so easily remedied: besides that, in the managing of them we cannot comprehend all the particular actions of the instructions, by reason that the state of things do change vpon a suddaine: besides that, this manner of being is a life very full of discommodities and perilles, and lesse vnder rewards the which be for the most part prevented and obtained before hand of those that remaine about the presence of the Prince.

The way and path of the goodnesse and bountye of exemplare life, hath her difficulties, for that it hath need of a firm and great staednes, and of one perpetuall forme and order: with bond of obligation to sustain at all times and in all actions, one selfe person: for so much as if a man be not vnfaignedly good, he leads a troublesome and an unhappye life aboue all others, doing so many things and abstaining from so manye other, against their owne proper appetite: and to saine long is an impossible thing, for y euen as a lame person by any equall encrease which he procureth to those partes that are shorter then the rest, or though any other relaxe vnto the same, can neuer couer the matter so closely, but that in going he shall discover his defect: so those persons in their proceedinges, cannot go in such measure, but that with some exterior signe

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they will shew their wants and inward lamenesse.

422 **E**uery one that placeth himself to serue in Courte: ought not so much to trust in his prudence, that he should presume to be able to overcome euery aduersitie. Neither so much neglect his affaires, that he altogether comit himself to chance: but let him think y^e the same is a voyage vpon the sea: in the which although prudence may doe much and makes the greatest parts of the windes fanozable, neuertheless, he cannot prescribe any determined or certaine time to arriue safe there, whither others haue directed their course. For so much as some in the midst of Sommer, in a gallant and well furnished ship, doe sincke, or else so close be-
ry much: others in winter, in a weake & unfurnished Bark goe speedily and safely.

423 **H**e which hath the onely authozitie: ought, to be so ex-actly prudent and vertuous: That, that authozitie which he hath obtained, be not left vnto an other as an Inheritance. For that men being moze prone to euill then to goodnes, his successor may vse that ambitiously, which was of him vsed vertuously. Besides this, although one be apt to order the thinges instituted and ordained, yet is it not to endure long, when it doth remaine vpon the shoulders of one alone: but otherwise it fallies out to be well, when it remaines vnder the care of many, and that it appertaines to manye to maintaine the same. For that euen as many are apt to order and rule one thing, so that they doe not knowe the goodnes of the same: occasioned through the sundrie opinions that are amongst them: So when they once knowe it, they do not easily agree to leaue it.

424 **A**mongst all those men that are had in commendation, those are mozte woorthy commendation, which are the chiefe heads and institutoys of Religion. Pert vnto these, those that haue laide the foundations of Common weales or Kingdoms. After these, those that haue enlarged them, and next vnto them, those that be learned. Contrarywise, those men are infamous and detestable, which haue borne the

the destroyers of Religion, that haue dissouered kingdoms, and are enemies to learning, vertue, and valour.

There was neuer any institutor of extraordinary lawes amongst any people, but that he made his refuge to the helpe of God: for otherwise they should not haue been accepted, so much as of a prudent person, many good things are knowne, who haue not in themselves any euident reason, able to moue and perswade the same to others. Therefore wise men that will take away this difficultie, doe re-mit the whole to God. So did Licurgus, so did Solon, and so did that most holy and diuine Moses.

Religion causeth good orders, good orders bring good fortune, fortune makes good successe to arise in all enterprises. Therefore the obseruing of deuine honours and deuine worshipps: is the occasion of the greatnes of the Common wealth. And where the feare of God doth saile: it is conuenient that, that kingdoms be sustained with a Prince that with feare may supplie that defect where there is no Religion.

That people which is vsed to liue in bondage, being set at libertie: is like in all respects to a sauage Beast, the which hath bene nourished in a grate or close place. The which being by chaunce afterwards set at libertie abroad in the feldes: not being vsed to seek for his owne prouision, not knowing whither to flie: he becomes the praye of the first, that goes about to entrap or entangle him.

That common vilitie that is bred of living feare: As to enioy freely that which is our owne without suspicion not to doubt of the honour of women and of our Children, not to be affraid of our selues, is not knowne of any whilst that we possesse the same. For that there is no man that will euer confesse to be bound to him, that he doth not offend.

He that takes in hand to gouerne a multitude, either by waye of libertie, or by waye of principallitie, and

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doth not assure himself of those that doe oppose themselves against this new order and institution: makes a state of small endurance. True it is, that I iudge those Princes unhappie, that to assure their state, are constrained to hold extraoꝝdinary waies, hauing the multitude foꝝ enemie, foꝝ so much as he that hath fewe foꝝ his enemies, easilye and with little scandale doth assure himself, but he y^e hath an vniuersall people foꝝ his enemy. Shall neuer be assured: and by how much the moze he bleth crueltie, by so much the moze his principallitie becomes weake.

430 **W**e must presuppose it to be a most true thing, that a corrupted Citie which doth lye vnder a Prince, although that that Prince with all his stock be extinguished, cannot reduce it self into liberty, but rather it is convenient that one Prince extinguish another, and without the creation of a new Prince it neuer remaines in rest: if alreadye the bounty of the one, together with his great vertue, doe not keep it free, but the liberty is to remaine so long as the life of him doth continue.

431 **W**here the ground and subiect of the matter is not corrupted, tumultes and other scandales cannot bring vs any damage: but where the subiect is corrupted, there Lawes well instituted doe not helpe, if it were not alreadye set foꝝward by some person, that with extreame force did cause it so well to be obserued, that the subiects should become good: it is true, that this may fall out whilst his life doth indure, but when he is dead, it returnes to his olde and former state, and the vertue and force of the vniuersall subiect being alreadye corrupted, we cannot sustaine good orders.

432 **A** man cannot be of so long a life, as shalbe of sufficient time to accustome to goodnes, a Citie that hath a long time bene accustomed to euill. And if a man that is of long life, oꝝ two vertuous successions togither doth not prick them foꝝward, when one of them begins to faile, it doth

doth ruinate, if that with many perilles and much blood, he do not cause it to arise againe, so; that such corruption and so small aptnes of frew life, doth spring of an inequality which is found in that Citty of State; and desiring to reduce it to equall termes, it is necessarie to vse great extraordinaryes the which fewe other knowe or will vse.

VV. Cougth to praise all persons modestlye, for by how much infamie and slaunders do offend those against whom they be spoken: so much more do the praising of any one (besides that we commend with great perill to the iudgement and bountie of him of whom we speake) doth oftentimes offend him that doth heare the same: in respect that through the selfe love that doth gouerne vs, the good or the euill that we heare reported of others, is immediately reuolued in our mindes, and is compared to our selues: whereupon it ariseth, that euery one that is of such defects or merites, calles to memorie, and is agréued that his praise is past ouer with silence, or else doth feare that his defects be not discovered: and it often comes to passe, that we offend man, onely with carrying lesse respect to one of the same, or one of greater quality, be iudging that as much or perchaunce more shalbe doome to him.

When a Prince hath fortified himselfe with confederates, with good Captains, with valiant soldiers, with weapons, with money, and with strong places: it followes that he endeouour himselfe to weaken the force, and to interrupt and break asunder the aduersaries determinations: the which thing may be performed spadiely or late, according as occasion shall offer it selfe, the which is the fountaine and originall of all glorious actions.

As good customes to the intent they may be maintained haue name of the lawes: so the lawes in respect they

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may be obserued, haue need of good customes.

436 **T**hose institutions and lawes that were made in a Common-weale, in the beginning thereof when men were good: do not serue after to the purpose, when they are once become wicked: and if lawes do barrie in a Cittie according to the accidents, the institutions thereof do sildome or neuer varie: the which thing makes that the newe lawes do not suffice, by reason that the institutions that stand firme, do break them.

437 **A**mongst the Romanes the chiefest degrees of the Cittie were not given but to those which did demaund them: this order at the beginning was good, for that none did demaund them but those Citizens which were iudged worthy: and to haue the repulse was an ignominious thing, wherupon it did arise, that to the intent they might be iudged good, euery one did performe good actions.

438 **I**n the institution of a Cittie or state to a politicke life, presuppose in your minde a good man. And to become a Prince by violence, presuppose in your minde a wicked man: By this meane you shall sildome finde that it fallies out that a good man becomes a Prince by wicked meanes although the end were good: and that one that is wicked being become a Prince, will performe good actions, & that it will fall at any time into his minde to vse the authoritie well, which he hath by euill meanes obtained.

439 **H**e that succeeds in state, although he be not of so great valour and vertue as his predecessor, yet maye he maintaine the saide state through the force and vertue of him that governed the same before him, and maye enioye the fruites of his traualles: but if it should come to passe that he were not of a long life, or that after him there did not spring vp another, which doeth put upon him the valour and vertue of the first, that kingdome is constrained to fall into ruine: So in contrary sorte, if euery one after the other, are of great vertue, it oftentimes appeares, that they accomplish great things and that they mount vp
with

with their fame euen to the highest heauens.

It is a thing most certaine, that if where there be men there be no souldiers: it doth spring through y^e fault of the Prince, and not through the defect of any want in nature, or of the situation of the Countrey: for that, a wise Prince doth vse in time of peace the orders of warfare and militarie discipline.

There be two sortes of flatterie, the first sorteth of a malicious craft: the second of an vnacquainted vs^e in conversation: the first with purpose to profit, is picked toward artificiall; and doth vse all studie to deceiue: the second, hath for his purposed end, a care and care not to offend, and therfore doth vnwillingly follow the other, who for all that becomes his guide, but yet he is drawne by her as though it were by feare, with putting in oblivion certaine humilitie, certain scruple respects and most vaine titles, which are made proper and fit, and such as are required of all sortes and qualitie of persons in such sort, as they cannot be shunned euen of vertuous men, and such as remaine written in these tearmes of vs^e.

It was neuer iudged a wile resolution, to put in perrill all thy fortune & not all thy forces: those do fall into this inconuenience, which determine when y^e enemy comes, to defend y^e difficile places, & to keepe the passages: forsomuch as it is a thing of great damages, if in that difficult place we cannot comodiously place all our forces: and in y^e case we ought to take that resolution, but if the place be rough and ragged, and so strait that we cannot plant al our strengths: our resolution is naught: therfore if we lose that passage which we did presuppose to keepe, and in the which the people and our armie did put their confidence: there doth enter for the most parte into the people, and into all the rest of the armie so great terroure, that without making triall or experience of their valour and vertue, do giue ouer themselves to lose all. And so it comes to passe that we forgoe all our whole fortune, and ouerthrowe parte of our forces.

443 **N**o well ordered Common-wealth doth at any time
 castell out the demerites of her Citizens, with their
 merites, but hauing appointed rewardes, for a good doer,
 and punishments for a wicked: and hauing rewarded some
 one for that he hath done well, if that the same man do af-
 terwards commit any thing that is euill: he is to be cha-
 stised without any respect of his good doers, for that if vnto
 a citizen that hath performed and done any famous thing
 for his Cittie, he ioyned (besides the reputation that such
 a one hath gained) a certaine audacitie, confidence & trust,
 to be able without feare to do any thing that is not good:
 he will in time become so insolent, that he will dissolue all
 the order of euill life.

444 **H**e that would refoyme the state of a Cittie, desiring
 to haue that reformation accepted, and to haue it
 likewise maintained with the satisfaction of every one: It
 is necessary that he retaine at the least the shadowe of the
 auntient customes, to the intent that it may not appeare
 to the people that he hath changed the olde orders and in-
 stitutions, although in effects the ordinances were newe,
 and altogether alienated from those that were before: for
 that the vniuersall mindes of men is so fed with that out-
 ward shew which it seemes to carrie, as if it were the very
 same indeede, so that they are muche moze moued with
 those things of outward appearance, the with that which
 they are in effect.

445 **T**he vice of ingratitude doth spring either of couetous-
 nes or of suspect, for that, when any people or any
 Prince do send forth any Generall or Captaine, into
 what importunate expedition soeuer, where he gaines
 sufficient glozve: that Prince or people is afterwarde
 bound to rewarde him, and if in change they dishonour or
 endamage him, moued thereunto by couetousnes: they
 commit an error which cannot be excused, but rather they
 loade their backs with a perpetuall infamie.

The nature of men is full of ambition and suspicion, and cannot giue any staye or means to none of their frowntunes; therefore it is an impossible thing but that, that suspicion which doth arise in a Prince immediatly after the victorie of his Captaine Generall: should be caused by the encrease of some manner of fashion of behaviour vled insolently in the said Captaine: so that a Prince can enter into no other thought, then how to assure himselfe, either by putting him to death, or by taking from him his reputation, or to make thewe with all industrie, that that victorie did arise not by his valour and vertue, but by fortune, or through the vile basenes of his enemies, or by the prudence of some other of his Captaines, that were in that faction.

Suspicion is so naturall in Princes, that they cannot defend themselves from the same: whereupon it is impossible that they should shew gratefulnes to those that haue vnder their Ensignes gained victorie, and that which a Prince cannot defend himselfe from: it is no miracle although the people do not defend themselves from: so that a Citie which haue lawes free, having two small endes, the one to settle commodities, and the other to maintain their freedom; it fallies out of necessitie, that through ouermuch loue, they should erre both in the one and the other case.

That Captaine which will auoide ingratitude, it is necessary that he do one of these two things: either that immediatly after the victorie he put al into the hands of his Prince, or that he keepe himselfe from committing any insolent or ambitious act, to the intent that the Prince being made voyde of all suspicion, he may haue no occasion either to punish him, or to do him any hurt, but when the Generall dooth not so: let him couragiously take holde of all those meanes, to make those things that he hath gained, his owne.

449 **F**latterie is cheselye found in Courtes, Pallaces, and houses, and also in Common-wealthes, and in euery place, touching the person of him that doth flatter, and of him that is flattered: the flatterer hath made o^r desire of something the which may be fo^r his gaïne, o^r else to conserue, to obtaine, o^r not to lose, by the meanes of him that he doth flatter: so^r much as the person that is flattered is alwaies mo^re mightye then he that flatters, o^r at the least such a one as in some respects may fauour him: And therfore it is vsed in Common-weales amongst those that be equalles, and also of the superiours towards the inferiours: only it rests that those that be miserable and base men, which are not thought to be able in any case either to harme o^r helpe, do not flatter and inlike so^rte as well those that are endowes with magnanimitie, and are in happy estate, as those that be presumptuous, and those that content themselves with their estate, be not flatterers.

450 **M**en to obtaine their intents vse their meanes, that is to say: either force, either recompence, o^r the amiable willes of others: the two first do not appertaine to flatterers: fo^r, he that will vse force, o^r giue due recompence, dooth neuer flatter: besides that, force belongeth to the mighty, where flattery appertains mo^re to the weakned. And recompences makes men, at the least in that act, equal amongst themselves. Where flatterie makes them unequal: amitie remaines, the which is gaigned with beneuolence, and is maintained with friendship, o^r with the similitude of the one and the other.

451 **T**he reputation of dignitie the which doth spring of vertue & valour of magnificence, of studies, of thoughtes, of wordes, and of such customes, that they do not disagree from the state wherein a Gentleman doth remaine, and that together they are not farre separated from that vnto which he maye attaine: the which thing ought to be alwaies befo^re the eyes of a Gentleman, as well fo^r that he may

may neuer be repated wisdom; this, as also for that he neuer come to be suspected that he is not apt to become a Statestrate.

When euer both possesse a State, ought to consider be-
 fore aduerse times do chaunce, that he maye haue
 made of sundry men and after this consideration to liue
 amongst them in such sort, that he shall iudge (when soe-
 uer shal time shal fall out) that he of necessitie must liue:
 and he that governe himselfe otherwile, and after when
 the perrill comes vpon him, doth thinke to gaine men with
 benefites: he is discerned, for he cannot only, not assure him
 selfe, but doth rather hasten his ruine.

452

When any incommenience doth arise in a Common-
 weale, caused by inward, or outward, or for bain oc-
 cations, is become so great, that it begins to strike feare
 in the hartes of euery one: it is a more sure resolution, to
 temporise & same, then to attempt to extinguish it, for that
 those that goe about to choake and kill it, do almost al-
 waies make the forces thereof greater, and do hasten that
 euill which is suspected of the same.

453

If there be same to arise in a Common-weale, a noble
 person, that hath extraordinary vertues, the eyes of the
 Citizens turning their sight vpon him, do concurre and
 runne without any respect to honour him, in such sort, that
 if there be in him any ambition at all, those fauours that
 nature and these accidentes haue giuen him, being vnit-
 ed together, comes immediately in place: that when the Citi-
 zens perceiue their errour, they haue small remedye to re-
 sist the same: and going about to do so, they perforce
 haught else but to hasten forward his power.

454

If a Citizen would be able to endamage and to take v-
 pon him extraordinary authoritie: it is requisite he
 haue many parties and qualities which he can neuer haue,
 in a Common-weale not corrupted: for that it is necessa-
 rie that he be very rich, that he haue sufficient store of per-
 suaders and adherents which he cannot haue where the

455

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latues are obserued, and although he had, yet such men are so timorous, that those few stations do not concur in them.

456 **W**hen the diligent gouernours of state, did see the Common weale quiet and in good case, they did alwaies finde out something although feinedly to the intent the Citizens might be affraide: for that by this feare they might arise to be more careful: and the more watchful for the preservation of their safetie: forsomuch as those wise antient fathers did very well know, that y^e vnderfall defect of men, is willing to become idle and negligent, & neuer by their good wils to apply themselves in a life y^e is industrious, but only when necessitie constraines them.

457 **L**eagues are accustomed not to endure long. whose force and fury is at the beginning: therefore it necessarily falles out, that they take in hand enterprises that endure but a small time.

458 **I**t is a manifest thing that the force of Leagues not blessed in their heate, doo soone vanish away: for that immediately suspicion makes entry, which doth cole and dissolve the, and as at one instant they are disunited: so they cannot be knit againe together, without a long space of time.

459 **A**mbition is of so mightye power in the breast of men, that it neuer doth abandon them: the occasion is, for that nature hath created men, that they maye desire all thinges, but not obtaine all thinges: in such sorte, that alwaies our desires being greater then our power to obtaine: it doth turne to the euill contentation and small satisfaction of him that doth possesse. Of this doth arise the varying and changing of fortune, for that men desiring, some to haue more, and some fearing to lose that they haue already gotten, fall out to vse iniuries, and finally warres, wherof the ruine of one prouince doth arise, and the exaltation of another.

460 **A** Prince in the managing of his estate, doth not onelye seek to redresse present scandales, but also those that are

are suture, and to prouide for the same with all industrie, for that prouiding for the same a far off, he may easlye remedie them; but expecting untill the euill be aue nere: the pblisck comes not in time, forsomuch as not being known, it both growes olde and to be without cure.

V When a Prince would maintain his state in a Province, disagreeing in customes and lawes, from his nature: finding therein much difficultie, it is requisite that he haue great fortune and great industrie but the most assured way is: that he goe to remaine there in person, to the intent his possession may be assured, and those disorders may be discerned, vnto which remedies may be giuen, besides that, the subiects hauing their Prince nere at hand, and carrying willing mindes to be good, they haue greater cause to loue him, and being the contrary, to feare him: and he that goes about to assault him, shall remaine more doubtfull, and although he determine to doe so, yet he ouercomes with greater difficultie.

He that is in a Province with his regiments or colonies that consist of many souldiers, and of many inhabitours therein: ought to make himselfe the head and defendour of his neighbours that are of lesse power then he is himselfe, or rather to indenuour himselfe to weaken the most mighty of them, and he ought to haue care and regarde that for no accident no strangers doe enter into his state, forsomuch as they are ever hunted after of those that are mal-contentes in that Province, either through ouer great ambition, or through ouer great pouertie.

Imediatly after a mightye stranger is entered into a Province, all those that are of meane power in the same, doe ioyne themselves vnto him, moued through the enuye that they haue had against him that hath bene mighty against them, by reason that in respect of these small powers, the stranger hath little tranail to gain the same, that assemble themselves incontinently about him, he hath only this to thinke vpon, that they take not vpon them ouer much force,

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force, or ouermuch authoritie, the which he may easily be,
debaasing with his forces the most mightie, to remaine al-
together the arbitratour of the Princes, and he that both
not gouerne himselfe well in this part, he shall soon see
that he hath gotten more hurt than good.

464 **T**hey do not break their accorde and compact, who
when they are not aided and succoured, considerate
themselves with others: but rather those that helpe no
succours to them with whom they haue made cōvention
and are in consoyte. And he merites no blame who because
he will not fall into perilles that be exceeding great, calles
his eyes with diligence vpon those things that are profit-
able vnto him: rather thē vnto those, which for other mens
causes are damageable vnto him.

465 **A**n wise man knowes easily the generall inclination of
any nation, and the actions thereof being publicke: it is
necessarie that the same shewe perforce her minde and de-
sires, for that of which after wards are by one particular de-
terminations, either more or lesse, according to the capaci-
tie of that wise man: which hath charge to perceiue and de-
pher the same.

466 **T**he great and mightie Northern Princes, which haue
many Children, carrie alwaies their minde apt and
prone to make warre: as well in respect of glorie, as also
to obtaine state for their Children, and to deliuer their
owne Kingdomes, from those disturbances, which for the
most parte, the first begotten amongst many brethren, is
accustomed to bying, and if vnto these respects wpath and
glorie be toyned, without all doubt they shall be very much
that Kingdomes, which according to their imagination is
most easie to be conquered: as in the which they haue some
cullour or pretence of right, to the intent they may in eche
case that doth chauce either of Leages, either towarde
their aduersaries, or in any iustifications, haue the appea-
rance thereof to the world.

Soliman the Emperour of the Turkes saide, that **Prin-** 467
ces ought not to vse the help and aide of a seruant oft-
ner then once: for so much as, in that first fact his desire to
obtaine the good grace of his Prince: and the greatnes of
the demand, doth make him to resolue in himself to obey
his request, hauing no space to think either of the perill or
of his owne aduantage: but when after he comen after to
request him, he thinks no more of the fauour already
obtained, but doth imagine to make free himselfe, with the
perill of his Prince, and to aduantage himselfe by some
meanes, to the damage oftentimes of his Prince, and the
falling of his owne faith.

If oftentimes comes to passe, that when we demand a 468
thing and are not able to obtain it: so that we haue not
in a readines the reasons that may be opposed, we lose re-
putation, and he that doth deny the same: besides that, he
doth repute vs for presumptuous and imprudent, imagi-
ning that he hath offended vs, by reason of his deniall:
and growes to hate vs. Whereof it ariseth, that he gate is
shutte vp against our obtaining of any other thing, which
easily would haue bene granted vs, the which we do not
now proceed to demand, because the first hath bene deny-
ed, whereupon he knowing our neede and necessitie, doth
not offer the same, supposing that we are displeased.

A wise Officer or seruant ought after the manner of 469
an excellent Whistion, for to see that which he may hope
for, or that which he maye feare, neither hoping nor fea-
ring more to lesse, then so much as is conuenient, and he
may very easily know in the beginning, if that his hope be
in augmentation, in estate, or in declination: and knowing
the same, he may make his prognosticate, to the intent he
make not altogether to expect his fortune, and he ought to
advertisse his Prince or Maister, thereby to shewe himselfe
prudent, keeping alwaies his iudgement in hand, not suffe-
ring him to be exalted through hope, neither fall downe to the
d.

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the ground through feare, and so affaires are handled with prudence, and come to passe to his hono^r, that doth negotiate for the profit of his Master.

470 **W**hen Princes do not graunt, or are correspondent to other mens demands, it growes upon these occasions, either that their silence giues them time to resolve vpon some thing that is doubtfull, or else with their silence they deny the same: iudging the demand to be vniust, or else they despise him y^e hath made the demand, although it be vniust, either else despise the seruant that doth demand y^e same, or else expects new aduertisements, y^e better to resolve himselfe, or otherwise in this case giue good words to their seruants: therfore the prudent negotiator ought to make his considerations, in which estate of these foresaide cases, he dooth finde himselfe, and takes his expedition in hand with the better deliberation.

471 **P**lato would haue the duetye of a good Citizen to consist in these fouer things, for the benefite of the commonweale: that is, that he be prudent in discernerig those things that be present, and prevent those that are to come: iust in distributing to euery one according to his demerites, strong to ouercome fautes, which are an impediment to the operation of vertue, and temperate in our desires.

472 **I**f we desire to governe secretly and surely in any State: there is nothing more necessarie then to haue knowledge of the determinations and designes of great Princes: and in what sorte they are of abilitie to be executed: for that a man maye preserve himselfe in time of peace, which whosoener he imagineth maye aide or profit him through their amitie, and maye provide himselfe in case of any disturbance, to the intent to auoide harne.

The knowledge of matters of state, is sifted out of Di-
 ces by sundrie meanes. For so much, as some procure to
 knowe the same by way of reporte, some by way of dis- 473
 course, some by the meanes of espials, some by stipebdary
 intelligencers, and some by the disposition of this man, and
 some by y man. But there is no way so certain as by the
 meanes of Ambassadors, & especially of those, that either
 through the greatness of their Prince, or by his owne pro-
 per vertue, is in reputation: for that dealing alwaies with
 greate persons, and pondering diligently, their customes;
 their words, their counsell, the valour, the maner of every
 one and of the Prince himselfe they may with a more surer
 grounded foundation, then those that write Cronicles:
 knowe by reporte, thinges that are past: neither like expo-
 ratoures, rest onely vpon the consideration of thinges pre-
 sent: But with a certain and assured consideration, drawe
 forth of these, and those thinges: make iudgement of that
 which is to come.

These Common-weales that were well institutes, gi- 474
 uing out Authoritie any long time, appointed vnto
 the same certaine guardes and watch-men, that the vic-
 ked vnto whome such authoritie did belonge, should not be
 able to vse it naughtily: and in this case, it helpes not that
 the matter and substance should not be corrupted: For that
 an absolute Authoritie, doth corrupte in shorte time the
 matter and substance, and makes them partakers and
 freendes. And to such a person it hurteth not that he is poore,
 or that he hath no kind-folkes, for that riches and other
 fauours, doe run immediatly after him.

A Common weale, maye haue more confidence in a 475
 Citizen, that from a highe degree, descendes to go,
 uerne one that is lesse: then in him, that from a small
 degree ascends to a greater. For that in reason this man

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cannot be credited, if he haue not good men about him, who are of such conseruance and vertue, that those nouelties he raiseth, maye be moderated with their authoritie and counsell.

476 **T**hose men that would put any thing in execution, ought firste to prepare themselves with all industrie, when occasion cometh, to remaine in good readines, to satisfie and performe that, which they haue determined to put in execution; and so; that when preparations are made perfectly and craftily they are not known, he cannot be accused of any negligence, if first it be not discovered by occasion, in the which if after wards it be, he not effect, it appeares that either he made not such preparations as were sufficient, or that he thought of no parte of them before hand.

477 **T**o desire to take away a disorder springing up in a Common-wealth, and so; this respect to make a Lawe that may looke a great time backward, is no good resolution: so; that we procure naught else but harme that euill into which this disorder doth conuene and leade vs, but by temporizing either that the euill may goe so;ward moze slowly or that by it selfe (before it take effect) it may be extinguished in time.

478 **T**he worst qualitie that a weak Common-wealth can haue, is to be irresolute, so; that all the resolutions they take, they take the by force, and if they doe any thing that is good, they doe it by force and not by prouidence, so; so much as their weakenes, will neuer suffer them to consult where there is any doubt, and if that doubt be not cancelled, by some violence that doth p;cke it so;ward: they hang alwaies in suspition.

479 **T**he distribution and diuision of the politick iustice, life and government, would be ruled with a Geometrical proportion, that is, according to the qualitie of the person: otherwise it is no iustice. As so; example it appeares,

appears, that punishment by infamie to a small punishment to one of base degree, whereas to a noble personage it is of great detriment. Perhaps those Officers and ministers that proceed in merites and demerites, in fauours and disfauours, in one manner and with one measure, hauing no consideration to the diuersity, that nature and fortune hath put betwixt the one and the other, so that they cannot be changed butesse the natures and custome of the whole world be changed: do not understand the same as it ought to be: for that the nobilitie growe into dispaire, perceiuing themselves to be debased, as like equal sort to those that be their inferiours, and perceiuing that those which are of base degree to be entreated and ordered like the nobilitie: it makes them become insolent.

The forces of Princes, if they be not governed with reason, and with good counsell: do not onely become weak and vaine, but so; the most parte are damageable to those that possesse them: but if they be ruled by prudence and god indgement, they worke meruailous effects, and giue vnto our friends hope and securitie, and bringes vnto our enemies confusion and feare. 479

The reputation and credit of a well ordered commonweale, is preserved with neutralitie, with abstaining from entring into league with any Prince, with remaining in amitie with all, and by keeping all Princes in hope by shunning all occasions to suffer damage or iniury of any whosoener, by entertaining many Captaines of valour and of experience, by making god and feareable preparations of warfare by Land: and by not abandoning with negligence his haies for the seas, by keeping and maintaining the people in loue and fidelitie, and by giuing vnto the nobilitie honours, to those y be of base degree many commoditie: and finally by giuing vnto enery one securitie and iustice, hauing chiefe care that all men obserue, obey and conueyance to his institutions. 479

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480 **I**t is easilys knowne by those that consider well, those things that are present, and those things that are past in auncient time: how that in all Cities and amongst all people, the same desires and the same honours, that euer were amongst them, do still remaine: in such sorte that it is a very easie thing to him that doth well and diligently examine things past, to foresee in a Common-wealth those things that are to come: and to vse those remedies that of the antiquitie were vsed, or not finding those that haue been vsed to thinke vpon new, through the similitude of the accidents: but for these considerations, are either neglected or not vnderstande of those that read, or if they be vnderstande, they are not knowne of them that gouerne, neither are they followed, for that the selfesame scandalles are to be found in all ages.

481 **W**hen the people are brought into this error, to giue reputation to one sole person, which doth ruinate and reuenge himselfe against those he hates, and that the same man be not wise: it will euer chauce, that he being become a Tirant, will endenour himselfe together with the fauour of the people, to rote out and extinguish the Nobilitie: neither will he euer turne himselfe to oppresse the people, but when he hath destroyed all the Nobilitie.

482 **A**lthough those that be noble desire to be Tirants, neuertheless that parte of the nobility which keep them selues swyth of the path of tirannie, are alwaies enemies to a Tirant, who can neuer gaine to his parte all the nobility, through the ambition & great couetousnes which remaines in him: so much as the Tirant is not able to haue such store of riches, and so many honours, as would satisfie all the whole members of them. Whereupon it comes to passe, that those Tirants which haue to their friends the vniuersall multitude of the people, and for enemies

emies those that be great personages, are moze secure, for that their violence is sustayned with a greater force then those be that haue the people to their enemies, and the possibilitie to their friends.

He that in shewe hath appeared for god a certaine time, and will at his fantasie and pleasure become naught : must proceede in the same with due meanes, and guide himselfe in such sort with occasion, that before the change of his nature, take away from him his old fauours: he may haue obtained so many new, that his authoritie be nothing deminished at al, otherwise when he is discovered and without friends, he runnes into ruin & is ouerthrowen. 483

It is hurtfull to a Common-weale, with continuall harmes and damages, to holde and keepe the mindes of the Subjects in continuall feare and suspence: for that those men that begin to doubt that they shall incurre any evil, doe in any case assure themselves from those perills, and become to carry lesse respect and to be of moze audacity to attempt newe things: therfore it is either necessary neuer to hurt or offend any person, or to vse al our harmes at one instant, and afterwards assure those men, and giue them occasion to quiet their mindes. 484

A Common-weale in her institutions and orders ought to be watchfull that the Citizens vnder the shadowe of god, doe not worke euill: and that they carrie and haue that reputation, which may helpe and not harme the libertie thereof. 485

A prudent man ought neuer to refuse the popular indgements, in particular things about the distribution of degrees and dignities, for that in this onely the people do not deceiue themselves: and if they be deceived, it is rarely: but those that be fewe in number, which haue to make such distributions, doe much moze deceiue themselves. 486

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487 **A**ll those Countreies and Provinces that live in libertie:
make great increase, and pꝛoced much more soꝛward
then those that live in slavery and bondage. For that in a
free state is found greater store of people, because marriage
amongst them are more free and more desired of men: for
somuch as every one doth willingly beget those Children,
which they think them selves able to nourish: not doubting
that their Patrimony shall be taken from them: and that
they are doome free and not slaves, and that they may by
means of their vertue and valour become great.

488 **T**hose which determine in them selves to have a Title of
great empire and rule: ought to endeavour them selves
with all industrie, to replenish the same with inhabitants:
the which thing is performed two wayes, by love and by
force. By love, by keeping the way open and secure for all
strangers, that dispose them selves to inhabit therein. By
force, by destroying the next Cities and by bringing the in-
habitants of them to dwell in their owne City.

489 **A**ll small and small Common weales cannot invade and
occupy neither cities, nor Kingdomes that are stronger
and greater then it selfe. And if so; all that the dauidade
and possesse the same: it chaunceth unto her, the same that
doth unto that Tree which hath her bowes greater then
the body of the Tree, so that withstanding and holding up her
branches with great toyle and trouble: every small wind
doth bend the same.

490 **T**o take the charge and care to govern a City with wis-
dome, especially those which are accustomed to live free is
a difficile and troublesome thing, and if we be not mighty
in armes: we can neither rule nor command the same.

491 **T**he intent of him that maketh war by violence by by am-
bition: ought to be, to obtaine and to maintain the
thing gotten, and in such sort to pꝛoced in the same, that
he make him selfe free, nor not impoverish the Countrey
and his owne Common weale.

To obtaine empire and not force: agré well together, and he that obtaines Empire and not force both together, it comes of necessitie, that he must fall in ruine. And he cannot obtaine force, that is impouerished by warres, although he be victorius: for that he dooth disburse moze then he receiues in by the gaine therof. 492

A Prince or a Common-weale: ought first to take eue-rye other resolution. then to haue recourse to conduct and bying into his state for his defence, forraine succours, although it is necessary for him to put confidence in them, for that any parte, or any conuention that he makes with the enemy: wilbe lighter vnto him, then any such resolution. 493

Ambitious Prince or Common-weale, can haue no greater occasion to invade any Citie or Prouince: then to be requested to send his army to the defence therof. 494

That person that is so ambitious, that not onely to defend himselfe, but also to offend others: calles vnto him like coadiutors and helpes, goes about to obtaine that which he cannot holde, and that the same which already he hath gotten: may be easily taken from him. 495

Those Cities which are vsed to liue free, or accustomed to gouerne themselves by their Prouincials: remaine content (together with other quiet) vnder a Dominione which they see not, rather then vnder that which they see e-very day: Wherin it sames that their bondage apæres al-ways befoze their eyes. 496

Amongst all those States that are full of infelicitie and infortunate: the state of a Prince or Common-weale is most unhappie, which are reduced into such tearmes, that they can neuer receiue peace, nor sustaine warres. Vnto which tearmes, those are reduced that be ouermuch endamaged with the conditions of the peace, and on the other side, when they would make warres: it behoues them either to make themselves a pray to those that help them: or remaine for a spoyle to the enemy. 497

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498 **T**he estate of a gouernment is no other, then to rule thy
subiects in such sorte, that neither they can, oꝛ by reason
ought to hurt oꝛ offend thee. This is done by this meanes
either by assuring thy selfe sufficiently in all thinges, cut-
ting off all those wayes wherby they might harme thee : oꝛ
else to benefite them so much, that they cannot by any rea-
son be moze to desire to change Fortune.

499 **W**hen we are to Judge mightie Cities that are accu-
stomed to liue free : it is conuenient either to extin-
guish them, oꝛ courteously to embrace them, otherwise euery
iudgement will fall out to be vaine, and we must altoge-
ther shunne the meane waye, foꝛ that it is pernicious.

500 **T**he woꝛdes againste the Enemye, of small honour :
spring foꝛ the most part of an insolencie that giues vnto
men either victorie oꝛ a false hope of victorie. The which
false hope doth not onely cause men to erre in woꝛdes, but
also in dedes, foꝛ that this hope makes a man to passe his
boundes, and causeth him often times to lose the occasion
he hath to obtaine an assured good, hoping to haue a better
which is vncertaine.

501 **P**rinces that are assailed (when the assaulte is made
by men that are moze mightie then they) can commit
no greater error, then to refuse any agrement, chafely
when it is offered vnto them. Foꝛ that there can neuer any
such base condition be offered : but that in some parte of the
same there is contayned, the benefite and good bearing of him
that doth accept the same : and therein shall be parte of his
victorie.

502 **I**f a greate personage be greatly offended oꝛ endamaged,
with the publike state, oꝛ with anye priuate person, and
hath not reuenged him selfe according to his own satisfacti-
on, if he liue in a Common-weale: he doth goe about with
the ruine therof to reuenge himselfe. If he liue vnder a
prince, and haue within him any generositie and coꝛage: he
neuer

neuer doth quiet him selfe, vntill such time that in some sorte, he doth reuenge him selfe against him, although he perceiue his owne proper damage shoulde fall out in the same.

MEN may alwayes followe Fortune, but neuer oppose them selues against Fortune. They may weaue the web therof, but not breake the same. They ought neuer to abandon Fortune, for that not knowing the end therof: and besides that she alwaies goes through vnknowne and crooked pathes, we ought alwaies to liue in hope of her, and hoping not to abandon our selues, in whatsoeuer Fortune or in whatsoeuer trauaile we do finde our selues. 503.

Amongst those signes whereby we knowe the power and might of a State: the one is, to beholde how she liues with her neighbours. For that when she gouernes her selfe in such sort, that her neighbours to haue her their friends do make them selues her Pensioners, then is it a certaine signe that, that State is mightie. But when the saide Neighbours (although inferiour vnto her) draine money of her: then it is a greate signe of her weaknes. 504

If thou be a Pal-content againſt any Prince: measure and ballance thy forces, and if thou be so mightie, that thou art able to discouer thy selfe to be his Enemy, and to make warres against him openly: enter into this path, as least perillous and most honourable: but if thy forces be not sufficient, indouour thy self with all industrie, to make him thy friend, and enter into the path that thou dost iudge to be necessarie, following his pleasures, and making those that those thinges please thee, which thou seest delightes him: for that this domesticke familiaritie makes to liue secure, and without feare of any perrill make thee to enioye and be partaker of his good fortune, and bringes vnto thee all good meanes and 505

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commodities for that to satisfie thy minde.

506 **W**e ought not to remaine so nere vnto Princes, that their ruine ouerwhelme vs: neither so farre distant off, that being ouerthrowne, we maye be able to arise in time to leape vpon the ruine.

507 **T**hose Princes begin then to lose their state, when they begin to breake the Lawes, the maners, and those customs that be of antiquitie: and vnder the which men haue liued a long time, so that these doe want commodity: those doe abandon them, and their willes and desires is alike, so that the desire of dominion, is as great or greater then is the desire of reuenge.

509 **T**he greatest enemy that a Prince hath, is conspiracy, so that whensoever it is made, either it doth destroy him or defame him. If they take effect: he dyes, if they be discovered, and that he doth kill the conspiratours: it will alwaies be thought to haue been the inuention of y^e prince, to satisfie his conetous desire, or to asswage his crueltie in the blood and goods of them which he hath executed and put to death.

510 **W**hen a Prince doth discover any conspiracy, let him vse all endeouours to vnderstand the qualitie thereof: and to measure well the condition and nature of the conspiratour, and of his owne: and when he doth finde them great and mightye, let him not discover them, if firste he be not prepared with sufficient forces to oppresse them. For if he doe otherwise, he discovers his owne ruine.

511 **M**en for the most parte in their proceedings, and much more in their actions of importance, ought to consider and to accommodate themselves to the time. And those which by making naughtye elections, or by natural inclinations disagree from the time: line for the most parte vnforsunately, and their operations haue a naughtye end.

A man

A Span may begin with his practises & with his naughty 512
orders to corrupt the people of any Cittie, but it is an
impossible thing that the life of one alone should be suffici-
ent to corrupt it in such sorte, that he himselfe may be able
to reape fruite thereof: and although he did perfoyme it
thorough the long pꝛogresse and drawing out of time, yet it
is impossible in respect of the pꝛoceding of men that are im-
patient, and cannot long deferre their passions.

He that will take vpon him authoritie in a Common- 513
weale, and to plant therein naughty orders: it is re-
quisite that he finde the substance and matter therof disor-
dered by time, and that by little and little, and that from
generations to generations, it be brought into disorder:
the which of necessitie fallēs out to be brought so, when
she is not oftentimes refreshed and supplied with good ex-
amples, or with newe lawes drawing towards her firste
principles.

The Citizens which in a Common-weale make any en- 514
terprise in fauour of libertie, or in fauour of tirannie:
ought to consider the subiect they haue, and thereby to iudge
the difficultie of their enterprize, for it is as hard and as
perrillous to make free any people that would liue in serui-
tude, as it is to make a people bound that would liue free.

The cause of the good or of the euill fortune of a man, is 515
in his order of pꝛoceding to match and light right with
Time. For that it appeares that men in their actions and
deedes pꝛocēd, some with extremitie, some with respects,
and some with cautions: and for that in the one and the o-
ther order they passe their conuenient tearmes, not being
able to obserue the true way: they erre in the one and the
other, but he doth commit least error, and hath most pro-
sperous fortune, that doth encounter and match the tune
with his order of pꝛoceding.

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516 **A** Prince that hath an army together, and doth perceiue that through the want of money or friends, he cannot long hold the same together : is of small discretion if he do not attempt and make triall of fortune befoze the armie be dissolued, for if he tarry and expect: he is sure to lose, but if he attempt the same : he may overcome, and if he lose, yet he doth obtaine glozy : for moze glozie it is to be overcome by force, then by any other inconuenience, which may cause the to lose.

517 **H**e that desires to haue a Cittie to defend it selfe obstinately, or that would haue an armie in the feldes obstinately and resolutely fight: he ought aboue all things to indeuour himself to print in the mindes of those that must fight, necessitie.

518 **A** Wise Generall that goes about to winne & expugne any Cittie, he ought to measure the facilitie and difficultie that he shall haue to winne the same, by knowing and considering what necessitie doth constrain the inhabitants thereof to defend themselves : and when he findes sufficient necessitie that constraines them to defend themselves: let him iudge & expugnation for difficulte, other wise: let him holde it for most easie.

519 **T**ownes and Citties after their rebellion, are moze difficulte to be obtained, then they are at their first winning : for that in their beginning hauing no occasion to feare any punishment, for that they haue made no offence, they do easily yeld themselves : but after rebellion, they iudging themselves to haue offended, and therfoze fearing punishment, are most difficulte to be expugned.

520 **O**rders are not so much necessarie for an armie to be able to fight in due order, as they be : for that euery small accident, should not disorder them, for the populare multitude, are not vnprofitable in warres for any other cause : but for that euery rumour, euery word and sound,
and

and euerye noyle doth amaze them and makes them to flye.

A Wise Generall, amongst other things, ought to appoint which those be which must receiue his wordes and carrie them to others: accustome his Souldiers that they beleue none, but only those Chéftains and officers, that speake or appoint nothing but that which is commaunded by him: so that if this parte be not well obserued, it is oftentimes sene, that disorders of great importance hath followed. 521

Euery wise Generall ought to indeuour himselfe to cause some newe thing to appeare while the Armies are in fighting, to the intent he therby may giue aid to his owne, and take the same away from his enemye: the which accident maye be verie effectuell to giue him the victorie. And besides these aduertisements, he ought to doe two things, the one to make proue with newe inuentions to amaze the enemye, the other to stand prepared, that if the same be practised of the enemye against him, he both maye be able and knowe how to discouer and make frustrate the same. 522

It is much better to send into an expedition, a man alone that is of ordinary prudence, then two worthy personsages together, with the very same authoritie. 523

He that commaunds ouer subiects, to the intent they may not become insolent, and that through thy ouer great felicitie, doe spurne at thee: thou ought rather to aspipe thy selfe to punish them to execute: but neuertheless with such moderation, that thou maist shunne that hate which euery Prince ought to kepe him from. 524

Sometimes an act that is replenished and full of charitie, doth worke greater effect in the minde of a man, then one that is cruell and violent. And it comes oftentimes to passe, that, that Province and that Cittie, that the weapons, the warlike instruments and euery other 525

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other force hath not bene able to open, one example of humilitie or of pietie, of chastitie, or of such other vertues, hath been able not onely to open, but also to make subiect.

526 **H**e that desires ouermuch to be beloued: euery small step wherby he straiues out of the true way, makes him despised, and he that desires ouermuch to be respected and feared, euery least parte wherein he erreth the meane, makes him obious: and to keepe the meane and middle way, cannot be iustly perfourmed, so that our nature doth not consent vnto it: wherfore it is necessarie to mitigate both the one and the other with an excellenc vertue.

527 **V**ho soeuer desires to be obeyed, it is necessarie he know how to commaund, and those know how to commaund, that make comparison of their own qualities, with that of those ouer whome they are to commaund: but when they perceiue they are out of proportion and frame they abstaine: and if they commaund ouer-hard and violent thinges, it is conuenient with violence and hardines to cause them to be obserued, otherwise he shall finde himselfe deceiued.

528 **T**o keepe a Common-weale with violence, it is conuenient that there be a proportion of him that forceth the same, with that which is forced: and sometimes there is such a maner of proportion, y it may be thought, that, that violence may endure, but when he that is forced is stronger then he that forceth him: it is to be doubted that this violence will cease euery day.

529 **T**o commaund ouer strong thinges, it is conuenient to be strong, and he that is of this force, and that dooth commaund them, cannot afterwards with gentleness and curtesie, cause the same to be obserued, but he that is not of this fortitude of minde, ought to keep himselfe from extraordinary rule and commaundings: and in those that be

be ordinary may vse his humanitie: for that ordinarie punishments, are not imposed to the prince, but to the lawes and to the other institutions of the state.

If we desire that an armie shall overcome any battaile: 530
it is necessary to make it enter into such an opinion of assurance: that they may beleue that in any case they shall overcome. And to make them assured, it is necessary to arme them and to make them camping in military orders, and worke so that they may haue perfect knowledge and counter-signes one of an other. And this assurance and order cannot arise, but amongst those souldiers, that are borne and haue liued together. It is conuenient also, that the Captaine Generall be esteemed of quality: that they trust in his prudence: and they will alwayes trust in him, when they see him order things well, to be careful, bolde, and that doth hold wel and with great reputation: the maiestie of his degree: the which he shall alwayes maintaine, when he doth punish them of their errors, and doth not toyle or trauaile them in vaine: and that he obserue vnto them his promise, and shewe them, that the waye to overcome is very easie: and to keepe secrets hid, and make mystery in such maner as may shew that the perills are removed. The which thing being well obserued: they are a great occasion that the armie should enter into an opinion of assurance, and being assured: to obtain the victorie.

Every Prince that makes warres, ought to take honour 531
for his beginning: and profit for his finall end. Neither that can be reputed a profitable warre: which doth obtain state or money. I haue made mention of honour and profite. For that although many times honour moues Princes to make warres: yet for al that, for the most parts, his state is gayned, that against reason hath shewed him selfe the Enemye. And that warre wherein there is as much spent as there is gotten therein: is a damageable warre.

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532 **H**o that determines to obtaine the degree of a Magistrate, let him firste consider to suppose the hate and euill will of many: who lett him neuer imagine to become angrye with any one, for any thing that shall chaunce vnto him against his desire of those that he hath holden for most frendlye, neither lett him leaue of so lightlie, by reason of the firste meniall and withstandinge that are made him, his hopes are muche lesse his stone defences: for that he that doth sustaine certain beherment afflictes, and chiefly the first, the which are accustomed to be made, neither suffers himselfe to fall into manifest overthrow, either through wrath, or ouer much haile: maye hope to finde many good occasions for fauour his election.

533 **T**he olde, giues great helpe to him that desires honour, for that olde age doth accompany with it ordinarily hope of short life, yet it is true, that olde age is not sufficient, but it is necessarie withal to haue other qualities, and the first is bounty: for so much as men are neuer so wicked, nor by admiration so inward, that they can altogether suppress the desire of good things, that nature hath giuen to euery one. wherupon it doth write, that the god be honored euen of the wicked.

534 **T**hose things by the which men are moued to fauour any one, to obtaine the degree of a Magistrate, it is necessarie that they be increased in all their operations, or at least wise not deminished from the fauourite: and let him beleue that continually the eyes of euery one is vpon him, & that he is to make iudgement of euery little thing, of his will and desire. for so much as the selfe same frendes will faile him in affection, when they discouer the contrary of that which they haue imagined of him.

535 **T**he people when they beginne to giue anye degree to anye Citizen, grounding them selues vpon the same, vpon opinion and vpon his workes: make no solid foundation. But when afterwards the sundrye examples, and his many

many good deedes makes him better knowne: they ground it better, for in such case they are neuer deceived.

The People in the election of maiestates, iudge according to those countersignes, that men do holde for moste true: and when they may be counsailed as Princes are, they erre lesse then Princes do. And that Citizen which will beginne to get the fauour of the people: ought to gaine the same with some notable fact.

Those that giue counsell to a Common-wealth as unto a Prince: are set amongst these Grates, that if they giue no counsaile to those things, that unto them appere profitable, either for the Citie or for the Prince, without hauing any respect: they faile in their dutie. If they giue counsaile: they enter into perill of their life, and of their State, all men being blind in this case, so iudge the good and the naughtie counsailes by the end.

In a Summe: as a skilful skinner as a good counsaile is not a no other waye then to take the things moderate, lynd and not to take any by extreams: holding his opinion without passion, and without passion defend the same with modestie, in such sort, that the Citie that is counsailed, as the Prince do followe the same: that in any folowe it willingly, and that it same not that he be drawinge the contrary the impossibilitie of him, that giue the counsaile.

If a man there is found in buyinge actions, in going about to bringe things to their perfection: alwayes here into the good, there is adjoined some evil, the which (together with the same goodnes) doth easily spring, that it seems impossible, that we can want the one, if we desire the other.

A skilful Generall, when he comes to encounter with a man in armes, that is of reputation, as some French before he cometh to the fowle, he makes his loudshouts, upon the enemy with light encounters, and skirmishes, in the intent that beginning to manage and to knowe them, they maye lose that terrour which fame and reputation had given them.

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541 **A**lthough to vse fraude in any action, is detestable: ne-
uerthelesse in the managing of warres, it is a laudable
and glozious thing: and he is aswell commended that o-
uercomes the enemy by fraude, as he that doth overcome
him by force.

542 **W**hen determinations is altogether to be made tou-
ching the safetie of our Countrie, we ought not to
fall into any consideration either of iust or iniust, of piti-
full, or crnell: of laudable, and ignomie: but hauing set a-
side euery other respect, we ought to follow altogether that
resolution, which both maintaineth our liues in safetie, and
our Countrie in libertie.

543 **H**e that would see what shall fall out, let him consider
what hath bene: for that all things in this world,
in all ages, haue the same events they had in auncient
time.

544 **W**hen a prince desires to obtaine a thing of any o-
ther: he should not giue him selfe too deliberate vpon
the same (if he should do so) and to speake in such sort
that he may be the more mite of the others deliberation:
the which is to be feared that is demanded, both for that by
delying it, by delying it, doth arise a perillous and suddaine
indignation.

545 **A** General ought neuer to giue credit to any error that
is suddenly made by the multitude: for alwaies vnder
the same there is some fraude: since it hath not stand with
reason that men should be so vnwarie.

546 **T**here is nothing more difficult to be handled, neither
more dangerous to come to passe, neither more perillous
to be managed, then to make a new order: that is to say, in
new orders: so that he which is the vniuersall head of them,
hath into his enemies all those which haue power well vnder
the old orders, he hath for friends and moderate ad-
uersaries, all those that by the new orders shall stand well:
the

the which medecritie doth spyng partely foꝛ feare of the aduersaries that haue the lawes to benefite them: partely thꝛough the incrudelitie of men, which do not giue place to any new thing, vnlesse they do see firme experience.

He that doth beleue that newe benefites doth make 547
great personages foꝛget olde iniuries, is deceiued:
and iniuries ought to be made altogither, to the intent
that tasing lesse, they may offend lesse: but benefites ought
to be made by little and little, to the intent they may smell
better.

A Prince ought to haue no other object, noꝛ any other 548
thought, neither take any other thing foꝛ his art, then
warres, orders, and lawes, and the discipline of them: foꝛ
that is the only art that is to be required of him that com-
maundes, and is of such great vertue, that it doth not on-
ly maintaine those that are boꝛne Princes, but often-
times, makes men of priuats fortune to arise vnto that
degre.

It is apparently sene, that when we make any resoluti- 549
on, either with ouer great haste, oꝛ with ouer great affec-
tion, it doth ouer fall out to be euill: foꝛsomuch as the one
giues vs no time to finde out those things, that ought to
be had in consideration, befoze conclusion be made: the o-
ther, doth occupye our mindes in such sorte, that it doth
not suffer vs to knowe any other, saue onely those which
doth touch vs at that instant.

Our pleasure oꝛ displeasure, doth moue vs moze which 550
is done in our present action, then those great bene-
fites that haue bene done in times past: so foꝛ the most
parte the sence of things present, doth woꝛke moze in
vs, then the memory of things past, oꝛ the prouidence of
things that are to come.

It is an easie thing to knowe the euill satisfaction of the 551
minde of euery one: foꝛ that euery one doth recount
willingly

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willingly the merits or demerits of their friends, and that which our aduersaries can do, or cannot do: so that we will haue patience to giue eare, the which patience is the foundation so; vs to do euery thing well. And he that hath greater desire to speake then to giue eare: dooth instruct much moze then he doth learne.

552 **W**hen any thing will not take effect, it is necessarie to consider whither that did arise of their owne disorder, or of the enemies abilitie or power, if they spring of disorders, that may be amended, we ought to do it: if so; that the enemy proceeds in good order, it is requisite we should change opinion, and do that which is least euill: the which will come to passe, when there doth aduance any small time in the consideration of our owne State; and if that he will discern to reasonable and iust compositions and partes.

553 **A**mongst the manie occasions of euill, that being displayed doth bring into a Prince; one is; that it causeth him to be dispised: so; of one that is armed, in respect of one that is disarmed, there is no proportion: and reason doth not require that he which is armed, should willingly obey to him that is disarmed, and that the disarmed should remaine secure amongst armed seruitours, so; that whilst in the one there remaineth disdain, and in the other suspect it is not possible that they should agree and match well together.

555 **A** Prince which hath no understanding in warre, besides his infelicities, he can neither be assisted of his souldiers, neither put any confidence in them: he therefore ought to exercise himselfe moze in the time of peace, then in the time of warre, two waies: The one in a day; the other with his misde; in action, by keeping his people well ordered and well exercised, alwaies to his himselfe to the chase, and by the means therof, to accustome his bodye to trauailes and discommodities, and in parte to learn the

the nature of the situations. With his minde to read the histories, and in the to consider the excellent acts of men, to beholde how they did gouerne themselves in warre, examine the occasion of the victorie, and of the losse thereof: to the intent that the one maye be shunned and annoyed, and the other imitated: and aboue all thinges, to imitate those that befoze him were glorious and of worthy praise.

He that doth leaue off that which he doth, for that which he ought to do, doth rather learne his ruine, then his preservation, for a man that in all respects will performe the profession of a good man, it fallies out of necessity, that he be ruinated amongst so many good men. 556

That Prince that cannot vse liberalitie without his damage, in such sort that it come to knowledge: he ought if he be prudent, not to care for the name of miserable, for that in time he shall be alwaies accounted more liberall, perceiving that by his spare, his reuenue shall be so sufficient, that he maye be able to defend himselfe against any that makes him warres, that he may take enterprises in hand without oppressing the people: whereupon it will come to passe, that he shall vse libertie to all those from whome he takes nothing, which are infinite: and be miserable to all those to whom he giues nothing, which are fewe. 557

Nothing doth more consume it selfe then liberality, the which whilst thou dost vse it, thou loest the meanes to vse it, and thou shalt become either poore, either vile, or else to shunne pouerty: rauenous or odious. 558

It is greater wisdom to keepe the name of miserable, then to bring forth an infamie without hate, for to desire the name of liberall, is to incurre of necessity the name of rauenous, which brings infamie loyned with hate. 559

A Prince

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560 **A** Prince ought not to take care to be accounted cruel, so that he may maintaine his subiects in sweetie and concord: for that with a fewe examples he is moze pitifull then those that through ouermuch pittie, suffer disorder to ensue: whereby spring vp rapines and slaughters: for that these are accustomed to endamage the vniuersal state, and those executions which procede from the Prince, do hurt but one perticuler person, and it is altogether impossible for a newe Prince to auoide the name of cruel, for newe states are full of perrilles.

561 **A** Prince ought to be slowe in belauing, and slowe to be displeased, neither ought he to make a terror of himselfe, but to procede in such a temperate sort with prudence and humnatie, that his ouer great confidence do not make him vnwarie, and his ouer great distrust doo not bying him to be intollerable.

562 **M**en haue lesse respect to offend one that makes himselfe to be beloued, then one that makes himselfe to be feared and redoubted: for that loue is holden with a bond or obligation, the which for that men be wicked, fall out to be broken: as enery occasion of our own proper profit, but feare is maintained with the terror of punishment, which neuer doth abandon it.

563 **V**hen the Prince is abroade with an armie, and hath in gouernment a multitude of souldiours, he ought not to care to be named cruel. for that without this name an Armie is not holden together vnited, neither apt for any faction.

564 **M**en do vniuersallye iudge moze by their eye then by their hand, for that it fallies out to be enery ones lot to see, but to fewe to touch, enerye one doth see what thou seemes to be, fewe do feele what thou art: and those fewe dare not oppose themselves against the opinion of many or which haue the maiestie of the state to defend them, and in the actions of all men, and chesly of Princes, where there
is no

is no iudgement vnto which they may appeale, beware of the end.

Princes being forced of necessitie to know how to manage beastes: ought amongst the to make choise of *the* Fox and the Lyon: in respect that the Lyon doth not defend himselfe from snares: nor the Fox doth not defende himselfe from wolves. Therefore it is necessary to be a Fox, to know how to discypher snares: and a Lyon, to make the wolves affraide. 565

A fewe Prince, cannot obserue all those things by the which men are accounted good: being often times diuinen to necessities, to maintain his state, to wincke against his promised faith, against charitie, against humanitie and against such like vertues. And therefore it is necessary he haue a mind ready to turn it selfe, according as the windes and the varying of Fortune doth commaund: but he ought not to departe from that which is good (if he be able) but to knowe how to enter into that which is euill, when he is enforced. 566

A Prince ought euer to endenour him-selfe how to liue and to maintaine his state, and the meane is euer iudged honozable and commendable of all men. For that the common Vulgar people are taken with that which apperes, and with the event of thinges. And in the world there be none but such as be Vulgar: And those that be fewe haue place, when those that are many haue no where to settle them selues. 567

A Prince ought to possesse two feares, one at home in respect of his Subiectes: the other abzoade, in respect of sozraine Potentates. From these he may defende himselfe with god weapons and with god friends, and alwayes if he haue good weapons: he shall haue good friends. And continually the state of thinges will remaine firme at home: when those rest firme that are abzoade. 568

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- 569 **A** Prince ought not to make estimation of conspiracies, when the people is benevolent, but when they be his enemies and hate him, he ought to be afraid of euery thing and of euery one, how simple soeuer he be, for there is no man of such pouertie, that he wants a knife.
- 570 **A** Prince that would maintaine his state, is constrained oftentimes not to be good, for that when the people, the souldiours, or other great personages, be corrupted, of whome in his iudgement he hath neede to maintaine himselfe: it is requisite that he follow their humours and that he satisfie them: and then his good workes, are his enemies.
- 571 **W**hen occasion doth present her self vnto thee, of any thing thou dost desire, take holde of her without losing time: for that the affaires of this world doe so sone varie and change, that we cannot assure our selues to haue any thing, vntil such time as we haue it in our hands, who when therfore any thing is propounded and offered vnto thee that doth displease thee, deferre it so long as thou art able, for that it is often sene, that time brings forth accidents, that will carrie thee out of those difficulties.
- 572 **W**hen a Prince is moze afraid of his owne subiectes then of foraine forces, let him make fortifications: but he that is moze afraid of foraine nations then of his owne people, let him cast those at his backe, but to the intent he need not to be in doubt, but rather to make himselfe esteemed: nothing is better then to take in hand great enterprises, and giue knowledge to the world of his notable examples.
- 573 **W**e neuer goe about to shunne one inconuenience, but that we incurre another, but prudence dooth consist in knowing how to discearn the qualitie of the inconueniences, and not in taking a naughtie course for a good.
- 574 **T**he Prince ought alwaies to receiue counsell when he will, and not when others will: but when he is not

not wise of him selfe: he cannot receive god counsell, if he do not remit whole to the chance of one alone (which may governe all) and such a one as were a wise and prudent man. But god counsells from whome soener they come, it is requisite that they arise through the prudence of the Prince, and not the prudence of the Prince to arise of good counsell.

HE that will negotiate, ought not to suffer him selfe to be taken out of possession: for that of one thing doth arise another thing, as well by the access that the first giues unto the second: as by the reputacion he doth carrie to be found in negotiation. Unto which purpose this Proverbe may be applyed. *Di Cosa nasce cosa, et il tempo la governa.* Of things: things arise, and time doth governe them.

WE ought to obserue with diligence, things past: for that they giue light to those that are to come, so much as the *Wolde* was alwayes one, and all that which is at this present and shall be, hath been at other times. For that the selfe same things returne vnder diuers sundrie names and countours, wherefore they are not knowne but of those that are wise, and that consider them with greate diligence.

Those possesse a better time in this *Wolde*, a longer life, and after a certaine sorte a more happy, which are of a base and meane wit: then those hye and scrutinous wittes. For that a Noble wit is for the masse parte a trouble to him that hath it. Neuertheles the one in practising doth participate moze of a brute creature then of a man, the other ascending aboue the degree of man: doth approche nere vnto the heauens.

The nature of the people, is like vnto the nature of priuate persones, that is, to desire alwayes to augment in degree, moze then they are of them selues: Therefore he is wise, that denyes anye thing befoze they demaunde it. For if he doo graunte it: he dooth not save them,

but both inflame them to demand more, and with greater instance than before, so; by giving them often to drink: the thirst is made greater.

579 **H**E that is the follower of a great person, and both serve him, & both desire to be employed of him: both apply himselfe to be alwaies present before his eyes, for that occasions doe arise from time to time, to commit some affaires to the hands of those he both se, & unto those that are interest him: which if he did seke for or loke for, he would not commit them unto him: and he that both loke any beginning although very small, both oftentimes lose his access and introduction to great things.

580 **I** should employe my selfe to seek the mutation of states; if I alone were able to change them: but when I call to minde that it is requisite I should first make head with others, and so; the most parts with wiles and with malignant persons, which neither can keep secret, neither know how to performe any thing, there is nothing that I do and thinke more then this.

581 **H**E that would procure in any accident, a wise man to iudge the effects that would come, and write his iudgment: he should finde (returning to see the progresse of times) fewe thinges verified, so; that the affaires of the worlde are ever variable and full of change.

582 **H**E that is conuersant with great persons, should not suffer himselfe to be set on horse-back, with curious embasements, or with superficial demonstrations, where withall they make men daunce as they list: for that by hote much more is it difficile so; to abstaine from this, so much the more ought we to restraine our senses by keeping our head free and at liberty, not suffering any to carry us away lightly.

583 **A** Good Citizen that loves his Countrey, ought not easily to temporise and maintain himselfe in the good grace of a Tyrant for his securitie, so; that he is in perill when he

is holden in suspence: but also for the benefite of the Cittle, for that governing of himselfe, after this sort, he shal haue occasion to saunter with counsell and with words, many good men, and dissanour many wicked.

If thou be not well pleased with any one, indeyourn thy selfe so much as thou art able, that he doe not perceiue it: for that he death suddenly alienate himselfe, and for that in time many occasions doe fall out, that maye serue thy turne, and they will serue thee if thou hast not lost them by making account of them: dissemble then and hold him for thy friend.

He that perceiues himself to be of good luck and fortunate, may weaue the webbe of his enterprises with greater courage: but let him knowe, that chaunce & luck be not only from time to time full of change, but also in one selfe time and in one selfe thing. And whosoever will obserue the same, shall finde many that haue bene fortunate in one kinde of thing, and in an other kinde haue ben vnfortunate.

I haue desired as other men haue: profit and honoꝝ, and my dyaght hath alwaies succede, neuertheless, when I haue obtained what I would: I haue not found in the same any of those satisfactions I imagined befoze, which thing if it be well considered, ought to suffice to extinguish much of that thirstie humour that men haue of honours.

Do not determine vpon that thing which thou hast not, neither spend vpon any future gaines: for that many times they doe not succede, and thou findest thy selfe entangled. And it is oftentimes seene, that great sperchants doe faile, when that vnder the hope of a greater future gain, they enter into exchange, the multiplying where of is certaine, and hath a perished time, but the gaines which he looked for, oftentimes doe not come, or else dwale out in length more then he made account off: in such sorte, that

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those enterprises which he had begun to his profit, fall out to be damageable.

588 **I**n the particular accidents of warre, soztyme both rule moze then in any other humane actions, soztomuch as e uery arte that hath his subiect changeable, is in some sozte subiect to the occurrence of chaunce: but most of al the art militarie through the great difficulties, brought by the varietie of the change of chaunces, which are and fall out vpon the way, in scituations of grounds, in seasons, in the inequalitye of the aire, in infirmities, in money, in victuals, in the munition, in artillerie, in the bagage, in the spyes, in the guides, in the banks, iours, in the principall officers, and in the proper souldiours.

389 **W**arrefare cannot be vsed for an arte, but of a common weale, or of a Prince: and the one and the other of these when they are well ordered, will neuer consent that any Citizen or subiect shall vse the same for art.

590 **A** well ordered Citie ought to desire that the studie of warrefare be vsed in time of peace, for an exercise: but in the time of warre, for necessitie & for glory, suffering the same to be vsed for art, onely of publick & common-weale.

591 **T**here is no sozte of souldiours to be found so perrilous, as those which are compounded of them that make warres an art, for thou shalt be forced either alwaies to make warres, or to haue them alwaies in paye: or elles to stand in perrill that they do not take away the kingdome from the, but if a King will liue in securitie, he ought to haue his footmen and souldiours compounded of such men that whe time requires to make warres: they will willing-lye for his loue god vnto the same, and when afterwarde peace doth fall out, they do most willingly return home to their houses, soztomuch as the end of him that will make warres, is to be able to fight with any enemy in the felde, and to winne the battaile.

592 **W**capons put in the hands of Citizens or subiects by the lawes or any other ordinance, did neuer do hurt: but

but are alwaies profitable, and maintaine the Title moze immaculate by means of these weapons then without them.

A Captain of the sea, which is accustomed to fight with the windes, with y^e waters, and with men, will moze easily become a captain on land, where we fight only with men: then a captain of y^e land become a captain on the sea. 593

Although those which attribute all to vertue or all to prudence, vse their ende uours to exclude fortune: yet can they not deny that it is a great chaunce to be boyne in some one time, or to pradis in those occasions in the which those partes or vertues, he doth feele himselfe to be of valour and abilitie, are in estimation. 594

The officers and fauourites of the Prince, are bound if they be wise, to maintaine their maister in loue & charitie with other Princes, and to mollifie with their wordes their ire, when it will fall out to be hurtfull, not onely to themselves, but also to the people: for that they being for the most part headlong & violent in their wills, so much the moze they become furious, by how much they are inflamed with ire, by those that ought to reconcile and asswage the: and he that doth otherwise, is no other then a naughtye seruant, and vnwise officer. 595

Every souldiour and every man, although he be valiant and strong, doth only defend himselfe and his owne life, but a Prince whilst he shewes himselfe iust & benigne to all, is moze ententive about other mens safety the his owne and let him know that the safetie of his people is his owne security, and therfore he ought ioyfully to take holde of all those remedies that fortune and occasion doth yelde him. 596

We do not only gain gloze by ouercōming that enemy which doth fall armed in y^e felde, but also it is a much moze glorious victoꝝ which is obtained without sound of trumpet: and in the which the enemy is made the prisoner willingly. 597

The slye (which very rarely or neuer doth save a man) doth shew the basenes of his minde, & his folly to punish himselfe 597

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himselfe in the hazard and perrilles of warrefare.

598 **T**he greatnes of state is vniuersally desired of euery one, for that all the goodnes thereof doth appeare outwardly, but the euill remaines hid within the same, the which if it were sene, we should haue no such great desire thereof, for that without doubt it is full of perrilles, of suspitions, of traiailes and of toyles, but that which doth cause a well purged minde to desire the same, is the appetite that men haue to become superiours ouer others: the which thing is truly a goodly and blessed thing, considering that in this case they resemble God.

599 **E**uery one that is forced of necessitie, doth require helpe of others, where there is no bond of benefites receiued or straitte knotte of frendship: it is a iust and reasonable thing y^e he shoulde in what sort his request aboue all things is of great profit, or at the least doth bying in damage to any person, if the same be freely graunted vnto him, and after make manifest that he shall be euer bound vnto him: and where demonstrations can be made of none of these foresaid things: he ought to be displeased if he doe not obtaine that which he demaunds.

600 **I**n all thinges it is necessary first to aide our selues with reason, and then with force: and therefore in matters of warrefare, it is much better to entrappe others, then to defend our selues from the factions of others: not suffering thzough our basenes of courage the enemies forces to be encreased with those things that we ought to serue our turnes withall: for that by how much more a man dooth byhold himself with reason in any thing, so much the greater profit will follow.

601 **E**uen as in naturall things the multitude of peticular causes are knit vp in fewe, by ascending vp to y^e height and from fewe, so long vntill they end in one alone: euen so likewise the multitude of those, that doe handle publick affaires, are restrayned and knit vp thzough sundry occasi-
ons

ons and waies, into selue bodie and scates, and those into other selue, untill such time as they conspire and be incoꝝ-rupted, whither it be by chaunce oꝝ of purpose, in one onely body and head.

Princes may by education and by election, make them-
selues god voluntary, wherein their proper conscience, 602
oꝝ at the least shame may doe that in them that the lawes
cannot doe in a free state and power, but when the lawes
do serue vnto a well compounded minde, not foꝝ a spur, but
foꝝ a byble: that person truely is woꝝthy of all honour, and
ought to be reputed excellent.

Men doe lament moꝝe when any wrong is done them,
Against reason, then when violence is used against 603
them by foꝝce, foꝝ that the wrong makes shewe, that he
that doth doo iniurie, and he that is iniuried be equal, but
foꝝce is a token, that he that doth foꝝce is of greater pow-
er then he that is foꝝced.

Euen as similitude enclines the maister to esteeme deꝛ-
ly of his seruant, and to giue him aide, and to admitte 604
him into his grace: enen so continuation almost against
the will of the maister, doth in ende overcome and open
the passage, though those occasions which necessarilye doe
occurre, as well though the indisposition, as by the absence
of him, which either through auncient seruice, oꝝ through
the fauour of his maister, being assured of his grace, doth
leave off his diligence: and doth attend about some of his
olone commodities. the which if it goe any time foꝝward,
it is an easie thing, foꝝ that the new seruant in a small time
to make him selfe moꝝe esteemed of his maister, then the
auntient: soꝝsomuch as the new doth studie alwaies to ob-
taine his god grace, and honour him moꝝe then the other,
as he that perchaunce hath not known him in worse foꝝ-
tune oꝝ of lesse age, whereas the auntient seruant many
times by those reasons that are contrarpe to these, and by
his continuall practise, doth vsurpe an odious equalitie, oꝝ
at the

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at the least doe not serue with such a reuerence and respect.

605 **P**ublicke and perticular accusations maye easlye be extinguished: but an vniuersall warre, taken in hand by all at the instance of some perticulars, (they not knowing what shall be the issue thereof) cannot easlye abandon the same with their honour.

606 **W**hen we prepare our selues against our enemies, we ought to think and imagine that their displeasure is like vnto ours, and we ought to apply our selues to deedes and not to wordes: not putting any trust at all in the errors which our enemies commit, but rather let vs presuppose that alwaies they being of sound iudgement, haue aswell prouided for their affaires, as we for ours.

607 **A** wise man ought not to keepe secret any good counsell that is profitable for his Countrey, for doubt that the same should be put in effect: for that the end will cause either mens temeritie and folly to be knowne: and likewise will cause the bounty and prudence to appeare of him that hath giuen the counsell.

608 **I**t is conuenient for wise men to remaine in peace, not being molested with other mens iniuries, but towards men of valour (being offended) it is conuenient to take notice thereof, making his recourse from peace to warres, and if things doe succed towards them prosperously: they ought to returne to peace, and not become proud through the happy successe of warres: or rather enjoying the rest of peace, suffer themselves to be iniured. For so much as he that through the delight of peace is slow if he remaine quiet, in a small space of time he is depriued of the delight of that tole rest which made him slow. And he that through the happy successe of warres becomes proud, doth not perceiue that his is raised vp with an vntertain audacitie: for that many things naughtily determined, incountred by the enemy more wisely counselled then he, haue had happy issues, and many of those which with prudence did seeme to be

be determined, contrariwise haue had unhappy successe: for so much as things are very sildome executed according to the ir draught, but euery one with a certaine securitie, doe iudge of future things, and after in the action faile.

WArres very seldome fall out in such sort as the plot is set down, so that she findes of her selfe many things 609
besides the occurrants: and therfore he that is couragious in the same, proues to be secure, but he that is fearefull in the same, commits grauous errors.

The falling out and issue of things are accustomed to be 610
fallible, no lesse the humaine determinations, & though that occasion, when there doth come vpon vs any disgrace at vnawares: we vse to burden sortune with the fault thereof.

Men submit themselves vnto seruitude it self, yielding obedience in small things, vnto which they should be 611
subiect, being obedient in great things.

A Armie vpon the Seas, is artificiallye handled like 612
vnto the other, in the which it is not necessarie with sooth once or twice to exercise our selues: but he that will entirely learne it, it is requisite that he continually make profession of nothing else: so much as the issues of warre be doubtfull, and from small things they come to great, and many assaults are made through ire and rage. and the lesse multitude fearing, hath oftentimes overcome y greater number, who not esteeming the enemy, haue made no account of order.

It is necessarie that all those that doe enter into other 613
mens territories: to be ready and prompte of minde, and firme and staide in their deeds, so that in such sort y souldiours become most valiant to giue the assault, and moze assured in resistance, alwaies imagining y they doe not fight against a citie y is impotent and weak of defence, but furnished with all things necessary: wherfore they ought to presuppose, that the enemy will meete them in the face,

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if not at that present at the least, when they see that they are entred into their Countrie, beginning to destroy and to ruinate the same.

614 **A**ll those that doe see any vnwonted damage to be done, befoze their proper eyes : are moued by the same immediatly vnto disdain and ire, and vsing small reason, pricked greatly fo:ward with fury and anger, enfoze themselves to vse blowes.

615 **M**oney is gathered and kept to spend honourably, and that, is the vse and finall ende thereof: therefore a wise Prince ought not to giue himselfe to gather the same together, to serue his turne withall: but to make warres, fo:so much as in warres money is not spent in vaine, when there is hope of greater gain: and although the people are very vnwillingly made contributarye: notwithstanding, when they know that it is done fo: the common safetie, they suppozte it peaceably.

616 **M**any times we see created of purpose in Commonweales, the successour differing in nature to his predecessor, and this is done: fo:so much as the qualitie of the firste (how good soeuer he be) through a certaine naturall glutting of mens appetites, doth displease: and so much the moze, by how much there is nothing found in this wo:ld, that is altogether good, and which hath not in it some parte of euill, through the hate wherof, we go about to set vp one of contrarye customes, whose order of life and wo:king, may be almost directly opposite to his predecessor, as well fo: that he is one alone of the number of them that iudge after this sort, and is reputed fo: such of others: as fo: that he can doe nothing moze acceptable then the contrary of that which a little befoze was hated, neither any thing moze apparent o: glorious, then that which is nere vnto perill.

617 **T**hose things that may appeare vnto many little and of small moment: be like vnto the signes, by the which

Ibiditions

Whistions doe sozele plagues, and saylers the tempests at the sea: but rather vnto the god, and those of vnderstanding, they are peradventure of greater importance, then oftentimes are the demonstrations of greater things: so; that as a certain wise man saith, in small things where in men vse not to faine, and doe not vse studie of apparence, neither are afraide to be punished: the habite of vertue is easily comprehended together, with the secret inclination and disposition that a man hath towards vices, so; somuch as hauing at that time not any eye and care to please vniuersally, but himselfe: he remembers himselfe (drawn by his particular humour) of that errour into the which he may runne, but to satisfie his appetite.

B great reason men doe iudge, that he is woorthie of reprehension, who through timorousitie doth faile in the glozie, which at that present hee doth possesse, euen as they likewise iudge him to be woorthie of euill will, who doth rashly seek so; that, which neither is conuenient, no; doth not appertaine vnto him.

Confidence so; the most parte doth arise of an vnho;ped so; aduenture, and may likewise be in a timorous person, but an assured firmenes appertaines onely to him, who knowes certainly, that he by the counsell which is in our selfe is to overcome his aduersarie: and prudence which springeth of the greatnes of our courage in equall so;rtune, doth make him that hath audacitie, more secure, not putting his trust in hope, whose power is fallible: but in that counsell which is taken vpon thinges present, the so;e-seeing of which is more stable.

To be enuied, and to be vbled: failes out of necessitie to be in all them, who think themselves woorthye to gouerne ouer others: and euerye one that in great thinges doth obtain hate, he is well counselled: so; that hate endures but a small time, but the present fame and the glozie to come, shall remaine perpetually.

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621 **I**n perrills where there is no courage: no art doth help,
foz feare makes men to forget knowledge and Science:
and practise without generositie, dooth bying with it no
pzoofit at all. Let therfoze an Army be couragious although
it be but small: foz that, that Armye which is greate, and
dooth trust moze in their number then in their counsell and
in their courage: it may be said that the same Army is full
of soles. And let him knowe that order and silence, whilst
Armyes are in fight: are great helpes to obtaine victozies.
And that those which be once ouercome in any enterpryse,
finding them selues againe in the same perrill: are not ve-
rye assured.

622 **A**mongst priuate persons there is no stable amitie, nei-
ther amongst Cities confederations of any moment:
if there be not betwixt the one and the other an interchan-
geable opinion of sinceritie, and if in other thinges, they be
not of like customes: foz where mens mindes disagree, like-
wise their operations disagree.

623 **W**e ought to praise moderatellye, foz by how muche
moze ignominies offend him, against whom they are
spoken: by so much moze the manifolde praises oftentimes
offend him that doth heare them, besides that, the praise
glouer runnes into the perrill of the iudgement and of his
bountie which is lesse: foz so much as thzough his proper
loue that doth gouerne him, the good and the euil which is
spoken of others, is sodainlye reuolued and enters into
comparison with our selues: where-vpon, euery one that
dooth seele in him selfe such merites o: defectes: either is
grieved that his praises are kepte secrete, o: else dooth
feare that his defectes shoulde be discovered. And it often-
times comes to passe, that we may offende a person onelye
with bearing greater respect vnto an other of the same o:
of a greater qualittye, the same person iudging, that as
much, o: perchance worse shall be done to him.

MEn of grosse and slowe wittes, doe govern a Citie better, then those that be of a quicke and craftie braine, 624
 for wise men will shewe, that they know moze of lawes, and be superiours in eloquence to others, of things determined in commune, as those, that cannot make demonstration of their prudence in greater matters: wherupon oftentimes they bring great damage to the Cittie, but those that put no confidence in their prudence: esteeme theselues of the least in the lawe, and not being sufficient to object against the speche of him that doth discourse, but rather being better iudges then many of those that speake like ceremonies, for the most parte doe with great felicitie governe their Cittie.

When those that haue receiued any offence doe prolong the time of reuenge: they correct the offenders 625
 with much moze modestie, but when reuenge is immediatly made after a receiued iniury: those that haue bene the offendours, receiue due chastisement.

A Common-weale, good things so soon as they are told 626
 abroad, engender suspect, no lesse then those as be naught: Therfore it is necessarie, that he which will perswade any thing that is hurtfull, let him moue the multitude therein with disceit: and he that doth giue out things profitable, likewise by lying and dissembling shalbe be belened, neither can he openly profit his Common-weale, if by such fictions he do not deceiue: for he that doth openly to the sight of the world performe any benefite in behalfe of his citie: suddenly it comes to be suspected, that he goes about by some secret and hidden way to reape the same againe.

Poverty makes some men full of apacitie, others by 627
 riches & conietous store are made ambitious and proud: and further both chaunge other occasions, according as euerie man hath possesse, either in a state or other vnbittled manner: both are in him, the which doe all of the same be to put our selues in perill, & about all things hope and loue
 both

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both greatly prick vs forward: the one going before, and the other following after: and the one despising deceites, and the other propounding unto vs the prosperitie of fortune: doo bying great damage.

628 **I**t appertains to Princes and Common-weales, to take care that their Captaine Generals do nat fall in suspect, and if the same do chaunce: they ought by cutting the occasion spardly off, to prouide and prepare for those damages, and for those ruines, that thereby might hang ouer their State.

629 **S**uspition doth spyng by sometimes in our mindes, either of those thinges that be likely, or of any violence that hath salne out. or else thzough a certaine folly and ignorance of men: that which doth arise of likely-hoods, it is necessarie to examine it well, forsomuch as it behoues to haue iustificatiō, and he that doth iustifie himselfe, dooth merite no punishment. What which doth arise of any violence that is don or that is to be don: ought not so stricktly to be examined, for that already it is rather an offence, then a suspicion: & offences ought to be punished. The last which doth arise of follye and ignorance, ought not to be admitted of any person of qualitie, but rather releded and left aparte.

630 **V**itiosse desires being nothing else, but a passion conceived in the minde either thzough any iniurie receiued, or thzough that which is feared: we shall receiue either effects of either, as person of qualitie ought to giue place unto the last passion, but howebeit in this occasion: and therefore in this instance it is worthy to be re- ceived of many, and particular men being more apt to effect then any vniuersall people.

631 **P**rinces ought to haue rare, not to prouide, to be done: for it is to be done: and a long: a multitude of vniuersall people, for the same: such a violence is more more headlong, is of greater importance, and doth cause more

more speédie and perrilous effects for Princes.

MEN that are strong and of great magnanimitie, are not to be afraide of their lues in glorious enterprises: but rather ought to account death for most glorious, whē either for the benefite of their Cuntry, or for their Prince, the same should chaunce in some worthe and haerty enterprise, desiring rather to dye gloriously, then to liue basely. 632

Although the actions of men are grounded not onely vpon honour, honesty or iustice, but also vpon firm and stable faith, wherewithall they are picked forth to put things in action, in such sorte, that they may be approued and found good, by the consent of all: and to the intent when they be done, we growe not to repent vs, forasmuch as by repentance what action soeuer, although it be well done: is spoyled and defamed. 633

Fortitude is truly the supposition of great things, wherein there is perrill of death, but not in respect of himselfe alone, that doth put himselfe into the same, but in respect of the vniuersall and publick benefite either of his country or of his Prince towhome he doth serue. 634

The fortitude, is to moderate feare and audacitie, and to be not able to be ouercome with trauailes. Stout and strong in perrilles, setre against pleasures, and to be an enemye to couetousnes: is proper to a man that posselseth right fortitude. And to be such a one to defend our country and our Prince from barbarous inuasions, and at home the weak and not able, with weapons: or abroad his companion from thences, or the bye wayes from rapines: is as I haue saide to accomplishe an ample and full iustice. 635

The fortitude of minde is knowne two waies, the one is when being in perrils, he doth no other wise esteeme and repute of the partes of the body, but as superfluous and to be despised: the other, is when he doth perseuer to follow those things which are most principall in the enterprise, 636

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pulse, and in them goes forward still pursuing of honour, and following that which doth leade to the true and honest way, with an unspotted and excellent intent and minde, vntill such time as he hath obtained the effect, or the desired end.

637 **I**f fortitude do principally appertaine vnto man as his proper due: and the principall partes & duties of fortitude, is not to be afraid of death neither of griefe. Who soeuer desires to be a man, ought likewise to consider well of the true properties of a man, and to haue in memozye, that to suffer himselfe to be possessed with feare, to be overcome by his owne will and pleasures, or by a couetous desire to gaine money and riches: be partes of lightnes and instabilitie, contrarie to all fortitude.

638 **T**hose thinges which are vniuersallye desired, doe al-
dome come to passe, the reason is: for that there be fewe that giue beginning or motion to those thinges: at the ende whereof there be sundry contrarie, to the appetites of many.

639 **T**he arte of clemencye and of pardoning, although for the most parte it benefites: neuerthelesse, sometimes it is hurtfull and damageable, but this comes to passe, when thou dost pardon a perticular person, equall or like vnto thy selfe, whereas to pardon or to be clemencie towards a multitude, for the moste parte dooth benefite, for that it is almost impossible that a multitude which hath receiued any benefite, should all of them be willing to be malignant or ingratifull, whereas a perticular person, either through his euill nature, or through some other vnrasonable desire, doth oftentimes fall into this vice of ingratitude.

640 **T**he true intent of god men, and men of iudgement, ought neuer to be other then to endeavour themselves to obtaine fame, glozys and honour, in the sight of men: for

for that all perilles, toyles, trauailes, discommodities and græses, which we beare in the exercise, or in the managing of great causes, is done with this principall intent, to benefite so many as we can or are able, and to be hurtfull to none.

A Wise man ought to consider, that he is bozne not so, ⁶⁴¹ much for himselfe, as to benefite others, and by how much he findes himself in greater degree then others, or by how much he knowes himselfe to haue moze knowledge, moze vertue, or moze gifts of God then others: by so much he ought to iudge that God hath graunted him the same, to the intent he may imparte the same to the benefite of others, and in this we ought infinitely to reioyce, that he hath opened vnto him so large, so plaine, and so apparent a way, to make him selfe immortall.

Sudden determinations, when as commoditie is not ⁶⁴² left to consulte, they drawe perilles oftentimes after them: and oftentimes also when a man for feare of a great perill doth turne himselfe towarde desperation, they issue forth of those græses and trauailes wherein they finde themselves intangled: for so much as the conuerting of feare into desperation, makes men furious and bolde: and those that be bolde are for the most parte aided and favoured by fortune.

In free Citties where feare and renoune is entered ⁶⁴³ into the mindes of the vniuersall people, that is to say: of all the Citizens, or into the minde of any particular person, when it is vniuersally it causeth two effects, either the vniuersall people do take their resolutions very slowe, or else doth take them speedily and desperately. When they take their resolution slowe, it ariseth for that a multitude can verie hardly perswade themselves, that any other can so speedily harme them: and to resolve desperately and speedily, dooth spring for feare of the imminent damage

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damage, or much rather through the present harmes, and for doubt of trouble, but that feare which is in the minde of a particular person, when he is mighty both oftentimes deuide a free Citty into partes, and both dis-ruine the same.

644 **T**he feare of a greater euill both sometimes deliuer a man from the care and the thoughtes of a lesse euill: for so much as those things that appeare moze terrible doe cause vs vpon a sodaine to forget the lesse terrible, and setting aparte all care of the one, makes vs apply our selues to the other.

645 **A** man that is of a free and of a good minde, ought to consider that iustice is maintained, that the faultie are chastised, and the good rewarded, for no other occasion but only by so doing it is good and iust.

646 **A**mongst the actions of men that are glorious, by the meanes of weapons or counsell, or that by one waye or by another, they ascend vp to honozable degrees: it is a thing of great importance to knowe how to defend our selues from enuie, for that there is nothing that can sooner and moze easilie cause them to fall downe from their height into a base degree, woorthy of compassion then enuie: and to such persons it is a thing pernicious in particular to be conuersant with men of the common sorte: for that great men perswading themselves that they are to be in Courte, in Pallaces, in the strates, and in euery place, holden of greatest reputation, in the same maner they were, when they did manage armies, or states, or publicke affaires: there is nothing that appeares moze strange to be supported, then popular equalitie, the which not onely in free Citties, but also in those that are subiect to princes, it remaines firme and fixed in the mindes of the vulgar sorte (as those that haue no other principall intent) then to pull downe and debaile such great persons, because they would not

not sit them before them, neither maye honoured or of greater reputation then they be.

Men of vertue and reputation haue nothing that doth moze helpe to maintaine their greatnes and reputation, and to auoide enuie: then to remaine seperated and withdrawen from the conuerſation or traffique with the common ſozte. 647

It is not to be doubted but that enuie doth not onely hurt thoſe that are enuied, but oftentimes blinding and debaſing the vertue of thoſe men that are of great counſel, of valour, and of prudencie: do keepe them ſoz a certaine time hid and not exerciſed, whereby thoſe that are mighty and the Common-weales very often do ſuffer detriment in their occurrences. 648

It is the parte of prudent and great counſellours, to provide ſo much as they are able, that thoſe that be vertuous and good, be not oppreſſed with enuie: and to worke ſo farre ſozth as their abilitie will ſtretch, or is permitted, that enuie be extinguished and rooted out in their Cittle. 649

When others are to be found ſuperiour in vertue and knowledge: we ought in no reſpect to giue place and permit thoſe perſons that are not worthy ſhould be admitted or enter into the government of publick cauſes, and that the chiefe affaires of impoſtance, ſhould be put into the handes of Citizens that are not capable, ſoz when thoſe Citizens that be of greater counſell and bounty, and moze profitable to their Countrey, be aſtraide either of the auaricie of troubleſome and ambitious Citizens, or are in doubt of enuie, or are terrified in the trauaile of great and difficile enterpriſes, and draw themſelues back: a large way is opened to negligence and ſloth. 650

Every one ought to defend himſelf as much as he is able from enuie, and if ſoz all that though ſome accident a man cannot defend himſelf: let him imagine that it is much better to be envied of others, then to beare enuie to others, 651

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others, so that enmie is nothing else but a gréfe and a soz-
rowe taken to see the good hap and glozy of others.

652 **T**here is nothing that doth moze easily turne bp-side
down Common-weales and states: then to vsie change
in the government of them, at euery beck and desyre of the
vulgar people. As though they were voide of people, they
doo abhoze and sile alwaies, without euer taking rest
as it dooth chaunce to the Sea, when it is in subiection to
sundze windes.

653 **V**Ve ought neuer to put any hope in the vulgar peo-
ple, so that there is no stayednes, firme mindes, or
remembzance of receiued benefitts: but rather do euer turn
them selues soz euery little and sodaine accident, applying
alwaies their minde, from that which from hower to hower,
er, dooth pzesent it selfe befoze them, as a thing profitable
or delightfull: hauing neither respect to that which is past
or that which is to come. But like an vnreasonable beast,
doth folloze that onely appearance of profite, that in eue-
ry instant or moment of time, according to the necessities
or willes which appere befoze their eyes, or in what other
sence they will.

654 **T**he perticuler Citizens or officers of a Common weale,
do not only suffer damage or shame, by meanes of the
instabilitie of the vulgar & common sozte: but Princes also
when thzough any necessitie they are bzought to make ex-
perience of the amitie & stabilitie of the vniuersall sozte. A
thing which euery Prince ought greatly to haue in memo-
ry & take care of, that if it be profitable and good, to be belo-
ued of the people: yet it is a thing not only pertayning to a
pzudent & wise Prince, not to haue occasion to make expe-
rience therof, but assuredly necessarie, to him þ will main-
tain his state and establishe it soz his successours, to be pz-
pared in such sozt, that besides the lone of þ people he may
haue money, all sozts of pzomissions and donouris, to be
able mozeouer to defend himselfe by sozce.

The hole

Those which loue and those which hate likewise, are ac- 655
 customed to honour & reuerence their Prince, but the
 one through loue & naturall fauour: and the other through
 feare and terrour. Wherefore a wise Prince ought to apply
 his induements to procure vnto himselfe, not by any of those
 waies, Titles, Statutes, honours and dignities, which the
 people would attribute vnto him without merite: but ap-
 ply himselfe to those actions, that truly are worthy of true
 praise and of great honours, which are to be attributed to
 him, not of the unskillfull and light multitude: but of ver-
 tuous men that haue consideration of his qualitie, & that
 do not change (as so; the moste parte the multitude dooth,
 following after the fauours of Fortune) so; that true ver-
 tue is that which doth confirme and establish States: by
 the which Fortune being overcome, is constrained in the
 end to goe with him in companie.

It is necessary that he that will rule, do not put any con- 656
 fidence in the multitude: but in his proper vertue, and in
 his owne prudence and force, or else deposing himselfe of
 his dignitie and scepter: he spoyle himselfe of all the po-
 pular fauours, and retire himselfe to quietnes and rest, con-
 tent with that gloire he hath gotten, by doing so greates a
 benefite for his Countrey.

The sinewes of prudence is not to beleue fondely and 657
 speedily: Wherefore before we beleue, we ought to consi-
 der well, the circumstances of the thing, the accidentes, the
 person and the cause. The which whosoener will examine
 well: shall not so easily fall into the error to beleue ouer-
 lightly.

Vniuersall thinges is the mother and originall of per- 658
 ticular thinges, and euerye perticular thing is to be
 found in the vniuersall, as part in all. And the true know-
 ledge in vniuersalities, dooth make vs moze easily resolue
 in our iudgement of perticularities.

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659 **M**EN in peace doe not suppose iniuries, and although manye times they forget them : it seldome fallēs out, but that when occasion serues, the displeasure of receiued iniuries : dooth awaken and quicken againe within their mindes. And few are to be found, that although they know they are in the wrong, and that, that punishment that for some of their offences is put vpon them : they repute it as though it were iust.

660 **F**or the most part a man doth neuer accuse him selfe, or neuer doth perswade himself to merite any punishment and chastisement, but rather reputing himselfe for good : doth holde it for an assured thing that iniuries is done vnto him, when he is accused. The which beleefe very rarelye or neuer is cancelled out of his minde. but alwaies remaines watchfull, apt to bring forth effects at euery occasion that doth offer it self when they are able to stand them in stead.

661 **T**here is nothing that is moze hurtfull to a Prince. or to those enterprizes that are to be accomplished: the to beleeue ouer easily, and specially to beleeue those, that saying them selues to be escaped from our enemies: endeavour the selues with their fittions to deceive vs. For the truthe of the thing is hid from that man that giues credit vnto such kinde of persones : which is the capitall enemye that those haue, that desire that their enterprizes should successe vnto them, accordinge to their waughtes, determinations and desires.

662 **W**Hilst we goe about to practise peace : it is necessarie we be vigilant and carefull, and knowe how to keepe our selues from the deuises which the enemye may set a-broche and practise againste vs. And this is to be obserued not so much of those that besiege others : as it is for those that be besieged.

663 **W**hen Princes can not put trust one in another, the speed and order of Justice and of the right maner of lining being broken betwixt them it fallēs out of necessity, that

that they use the force of armes, and in deavour themselves to shewe their error one to the other: either to reuenge themselves of their broken faith, or reduce them that are misled by force into their dutie, and right path of iustice: and he that doth not performe this, shall become not onely an enemye to the people that are subiect to him, but also to himselfe: for that besides his not redressing the, from the inuasions and daunges that they haue receiued, the Prince will become in short time ignominious, of small account, & to be despised of other potentates, and so: that he neither knowes, neither was of abillie to proueaffe through those receiued iniuries, by means of the faith broken towards him, he shall lose al his reputation and credit.

[I]t is the propertie of a man that carries a good minde, not to break his faith: but not to know how to proueaffe against those that haue failed in faith against them: is a thing that is proper to a man of small value, and it is requisite for what Prince or potentate soeuer, sharply to chastise those that doe not obserue faith, if he be desirous to maintaine himselfe in his state, with fame and with reputation, the which is lost when he is in the derision and dispiaise of others.

[I]t is requisite that the Captain General haue in minde and know, that he doe not so much make his soldiers obserue their faith towards him, as also how to knowe to obserue towards them: speciallly when he doth promise the same publickly, to a multitude, wherby the same may gather profit or riches, so much as they become interested in their mindes, to percieue them-selues depraied of the promise, and of their merited recompence, conuerting their loue into disdain, and their disdain into hate: and if saying unto them, that they are punished for that, which they ought to be rewarded for: they take means to reuenge themselves, breaking their faith against their superiours, of whom they see the same vniustly to be broken,

Since they perceiue themselves deprived of the lust reward
of their traualles:

666

The small end of those that moue any warres, is to en-
rich themselves, and to empouerish the enemy: neither
for any other occasion, victorie is so much sought after; nei-
ther the gaining and conquest of thinges is desired for any
other end, then to make our selues mightie; and the aduer-
saries weake: where-upon it followes, that sometimes ei-
ther the victorie dooth impouerish the, or the conquest
make the weake: it fallies out of necessitie, that either he
doth ouer-passe, or doth not arrive to those tearmes and
ends, for the which the warres are made: but that prync
and that Common-weale is made rich by victories of
warre, which destroye the enemy: and become Lords o-
uer the spoiles, taxes, and impositions: those are impoueri-
shed through victories, that although he overcome cannot
destroye the enemies: and that the spoiles and the taxa-
tions fall not to his share, but appertaine to his souldiours:
such a one is vnlucky in his losses, and vnfortunate in his
victories: for that by losing, he supposeth the iniuries the
enemies haue made against him, by ouercomming he sup-
portes that which his frendes doe against him, the which
for that they are lesse reasonable, and lesse supportable, spe-
cially perceiuing that of necessitie he is constrained to bur-
den his subjects with newe offences and with taxations,
and if he haue in himself any humanitie, he cannot entire-
ly reioyce in such a victorie: for the which all his subjects
are made sorrowfull and become agrieved.

667

Those are accustomed (that desire to obtaine any thing)
to assault with prayers, with requests, with rewardes,
and with menaces, to the intent they may be moued to do
so much as they are desired, and to consent to our request,
either through merrie & pittie, or through profit, or through
feare: but in those foresaid waies hauing no place amongst
cruel and cruell men, which are mightie according to
their

their own opinion: Those toyle and trouble them selves in
baine, which belone either with request to please them
or with rewardes to gaine them, or with threatenings to
astorish them.

Those Cities are infortunate, which are to defend their 668
libertie against the ambition of those that would op-
presse them: but those are much more unhappye, & are con-
strained to defende them selves with the mercenarye and
vnlawfull weapons of foraine succours.

Those that are in hope that a Common weale may be
entirely vntreweare by private benefite by that hope, 662
true it is: that some benefitions doe harme a Common weale
and some doe benefite. Those which doe harme i be arise of
factions and of partners, banded & boited together. Those
do benefite: that without factions and without partiali-
ties and partners doe maintaine themselves. Therefore
the first institution of a Common weale, not being able to
prouide but that there will be discordes and enmities in a
Cittie: he ought at the least wise to prouide that there be no
factions. And therefore he ought to knowe how Citizens do
obtain reputation two manner of waies in a Cittie, either by
publike meanes or by private meanes. Doubtles they are
obtained by overcoming a battaile, by winning a Cittie,
by accomplishinge an Ambassage with care and with pru-
dence, and by counselling the Common weale, wiselye and
happilye. By private meanes it is obtained, by bene-
fiting these and those other Citizens, by defending them from se-
ueritie of Magistrates, relieuing them with money, ad-
uancing them vnderfurnishing to honours, and with feastes
and with publike gifts to gratifie the people. By this ma-
ner of proceeding, springe vp factions and partners, and by
both much reputation, gained in this sorte doth offende:
by so much it doth helpe and benefite. when it is not mixed
with

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with factions, so that it is grounded upon a common benefit, and not upon a private benefit, and although that amongst such Citizens we cannot by any meanes so provide, but that there will arise gréuous hates, neuertheless, hauing partners, that through their own proper profit, do follow him, they cannot be hurtfull to the Common weale; but rather it will fall out, that they shall benefit: that is, it is necessarie to overcome their attemples, that they turne themselves to the exaltation of those, and particularly holde certain obseruations one to another, to the intent they do not ouerpasse the ciuill tearmes.

670 **T**he Generall that would make his souldiours obstinate in any charge and onsette, he must not permitte them to send home to their houses, any of their spoiles, or riches, or to lay them vp in any place: to the intent they may vnderstand, that if flying away do saue their liues, yet will it not saue their goods; the loue whereof no lesse then that dooth make a man obstinate, to stand to his defence.

671 **I**t is very easie to perswade, or dissuade one thing to some; so that if wordes do not suffice, we may vse authoritie; but the difficultie is to remoue from a multitude any sinister opinion which is either contrarie to þe common weale, or else contrarie to their owne opinion; wherein no other meanes can be used, then wordes: the which is convenient that they should be heard of all.

972 **T**he speeches of a Generall, or of a Captaine, to his souldiours, doth take away feare, doth kindle vp and inflame their mindes and courages, doth encrease their obstination, and resolution, doth discover necessities, doth promise rewards, doth shew vnto them perils, and the way how to shun them, doth reprehend, censure, threaten, doth fill with hope, praise, and glorie, and doth perswade all those thinges, by the which man in passions, may be distinguished

extinguished or are kindled up. Therefore that Prince or common-weale, that hath an arme, ought to accustom the souldiers, to haue their Capitaine speak, and the Capitaine to speak often to the souldiers.

The best way that a General or Capitaine hath to cause this souldiers become resolute and obstinate in fight, is to take away from them all hope to save themselves, butionely by overdominating the which resolution of obstination is also increased through confidence, or faue towards their Capitaine, or towards their countrey: as weapons, god order, fresh victorie, and the opinion which is had of the Capitaine, doth cause and confirme in them confidence: nature doth dyede in them the love of their Countrey, vertue more then any other benefit, that of the Capitaine also there may be many sorts of necessities, but that is strongest which doth constrain them either to overcome or to dye.

A Cittie whole ditches without the same, together with counterescarpes and other strengthes, be higher then the walles of the Cittie: that towne is most weake, so that those become bulwarks to the enemye that doth assault them: and doth not hinder him to endamage them, so that easilye they may be opened, and give place to his artillerie.

Nothing doth give more hope to the enemye to be able to invade a Cittie, then to know that the same is not accustomed to see the enemye: so that many times through feare onely without experience of force, Citties are lost. Therefore when any Prince or other Capitaine doth assault a Cittie, he ought to make all his shewes and ostentation terrible: and that a towne that is assaulted, ought to place in that parte where the enemye doth assault, strong men, and such as are not terrified by opinion, but by weapons: so that the first attempt doth become vain, it entreateth the mindes of the besieged, and afterwards the enemye

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is forced to overcome those that are within the town, with valour, vertue, and reputation.

676 **G**enerall and Capitaines for two reasons are commended and praised: the one is, that haue with an armie ordered by his naturall discipline, performed great things: the other is, of those that not onely haue had to overcome the enemy, but firste before they come so farre, had bene of necessity constrained to order, as they haue in strict their armie well, and those without doubt deserue much more praise, then those haue deserved, that haue wrought ventuously and worthily, with these well exercised ancient armies.

677 **A** Generall amongst all his observations, ought to hide your himself with all art, to deuise of forces of his enemies, either by making his shouldiers suspected of him, in whom he trustes and puts confidence, or to giue him occasion to separte his people, and by this meanes to become more treake.

678 **T**hat which above al other things keeps an armie united together is the reputation of the Generall, the which doth only arise of his vertue: for that neither blood, neither authoritie doth neuer giue it him without valour.

679 **T**he firste thing that a Generall must looke to performe, is to keep his shouldiers punished and paid: for when they want their paye, it falloweth out of necessitie, that they must want punishment, for that a shouldier cannot be corrected, unless he be paid, neither if the shouldier desire to live, can he abstaine from robbing and spoyle, but if he pay them and not punishment, the shouldier becomes in every respect insolent: and the Generall growes to be of small estimation: the which being so, he cannot maintain the dignitie of his degree: and not maintaining the same, tumultes and discords of necessitie do folowe, which are the ruine of an armie.

When either hunger or any other naturall necessitye, 680
 or humane passion, doth bring the enemy to his last
 desperation: and picked forwards with the same, dooth
 come to fight with the General: he ought to remaine with
 in the lodgings of his camp, and so much as is in his pow-
 er, to flee and shunne the charge and encounter of bat-
 tle.

No man ought ever to performe any thing, by means 681
 whereof without remembrance he dooth begin to lose his
 first reputation, the which being lost, it makes his other
 orders and appointments to be esteemed lesse, and besides
 maye those that have taken upon them his defence.

The three principall actions which an Army is to per- 682
 forme, is to marche, fight, and lodge: and of an Army
 doth marche, lodge and fight in good order, and without
 piasse: the Generall obtaines honour, although the bat-
 tle take not good effect.

Although a man be of an excellent wit and naturall 683
 judgement, yet it is impossible that he should attaine
 unto, and understand well, certayne particulars: and
 therefore experience is necessarye, the which nothing else
 dooth teach him, but the practise of things: In whosoe-
 ver that hath managed many affaires, doth understand,
 so that by experience it selfe he hath learned how good and
 how much experience is worth.

Although without doubt a private dooth more please, 684
 than a publicke: yet it is more commendable, and more profitable
 by a sight, altogether so be the contrarye: for the pub-
 licke, as the private is more commendable, so the private
 is more profitable: and the private person, dooth not stand
 shew from any person, besides that those be of greater

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number that suffer discommoditie through the burdens of prodigality, then those that receive benefites of his liberality: the reason is, that amongst men hope is of greater force, then fame, and those be of greater number that hope to obtaine something at his hands, then those that feare to be oppressed.

685 **H**e that hath lining, possessions, or goods in his owne native Countre, and is subiect to a bloody and heauy Tyrant, some rules that tyrants can be giuen to that man, except to take Spangheruile: but when the tyrant either through prudence, or through necessity, dooth gouerne with respect: a man that is well qualified, ought to indouour himself to be accounted of many not couragious, but of a quiet nature: and not desirous of alterations if he be not forced therunto. For that by this means the tyrant will embrace him, and will not goe about to giue him cause to make mouelities, the which thing he would not do, when he dooth knowe him vnquiet, for that then he thinks in any case he will not remaine firme, and is constrained of necessity to extinguish and destroy him.

686 **I**t is an honourable thing to a man, not to promise any thing, but that which he will performe: and commonly all those to whom he maketh denial although they remain vnsatisfied: for that knowing not suffer themselves to be moued by reason. The contrary thinneth to him that promisseth, for that many can be deceiued by the which, they are not constrained to make experience of that which he hath promised: and so he dooth satisfie him with his words, and yet if he shall performe the same, they want no excuses, and maye be so vnsolicite, that they suffer themselves to be compassed about with women: neuertheless this is to be accounted of a man to fall of his promise, that he might haue deferred this hope any longer, that maye be an wise of the which temper: and therefore a man ought to entertaine or tempore somewhat with general answers,

and

and full of good hopes, but not in such sort as they may
bunde ther precisely.

It is a commendable thing, that good and valiant soules
ours, in haughtie and hard enterprises, and in difficult pa- 687
ssages, should exhort one another to doe well: to the intent
that their not overcoming through their negligence and
passing their time with ease, and not making one onely ex-
periences against their enemies of their vertue and valour:
should be reputed to them for a shame. And therefore they
ought not to expect y^e their fame should be defamed, neither
their prosperous fortune turne to a contrarie course: but
rather boylle vp their sayles, according to y^e friendly winde
that blowes.

The Stratagems and aduertisements of an olde Cap- 688
taine, when they are effectuallye performed of his
souldiours: are as hurtfull to his enemies, as the wea-
pons which doe kill them.

It is necessary that those which consider of perilles: doe 689
firke of all compare them amongst them selues, and af-
terwards make choise of the leaste: And he that gines fa-
uours, it is requisite that he haue that consideration in all
things.

When a people doe remaine without head: and doe 690
line of them-selues: they become lesse apte for the
warres. And if after they returne vnder a head: they are
made lesse obedient, for that they were once free, and moze
apt to discorde amongst them, doth so; doth his vidozie,
and often times doth lose his state.

Principalities when they are instituted by olde men, 691
haue alwayes had small continuance: so; that for the
most parte olde men because they liue but a small time, ei-
ther doe not furnish out the planting of their plat, or if they
doe plant it, they leaue it with so small & weak roots, that
when that vertue & force which did custome it doth faile:
the first winde doth bend downe and blowe the same.

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692 **T**here is nothing moze woorthy in an excellent Prince,
or in a well ordered Common-weale, neither moze
profitable for a Province: then to builde and edifie a newe
Towne, whether men maye reduce them selues throught
the commoditie of defence or benefite of the fertill ground.
For that it makes the Countrey that is overcome, moze
secure to the vanquisher: and doth fill with inhabitants
voide places, and maintaines men well distributed and
disperced in a Province, sozomuch as the inhabitants
multiplying, they be moze prompt and ready in their of-
fences, and moze secure in their defences.

693 **M**en doe neuer maintain themselves in any difficultie
if they be not maintained throught a necessitie: in
such sort as where the feare of warres doth constrain them
to inhabit willingly in rough and strong places, that feare
being ceased, and being called vpon by commoditie: they
doe inhabite moze willingly, in easie and domesticall pla-
ces.

694 **T**he gréuous and naturall discordes which are amongst
the populare sorte and the noble, being caused for that
the one partie would commaund, and the other for that
they would not obay, are the occasions of many evils that
arise in a Citie, for that throught this diuersitie of honours,
all those other thinges that disturbe the Common-weale,
take their nourishment.

695 **T**hat Citie which would maintain it selfe rather with
factions then with Lawes, when any one faction doth
remaine in the same without any that oppose themselves:
it is convenient of necessitie, that the same deuide it selfe
within it selfe, for that it cannot defend it selfe, from these
private proceedings the which the same for his safety had
first instituted.

696 **W**here many doe erre, none are corrected, small factes
are punished, the great and gréuous are rewarded:

and

and when manye do suffer: selue do goe about to reuenge
themselues. for that vniuersall iniuries are supposited with
greater patience then those that are peticular.

For the moste parte all those that attaine to riches and
great power, either with fraude, either with force, do
attaine vnto the same. And after they haue either with vi-
olence or with deceite vsurped those thinges, to hide the
filthynges of their getting: they do make honest the same
vnder a false tytle of gaine. And those that through lack of
pyudence, or through folly, be chun and die these meales:
are alwaies ouerwhelmed in slauey and pouertie. For
that faithfull seruants are alwaies conserued, and good
men alwaies are poore, and none there be that at any time
do issue out of seruitude, but those that be vnfaithfull and
shamelesse-hardye and fowth of pouertie but those that are
rauenous and fraudulent: for nature hath placed all the
fowtane of men in the midst of them, the which are subiects
and exposed moze to rapine then to industrie, and moze to
the wicked then the good. Wherof it procedes, that men eat
one an other, and he that may least goes to the worst.

Vhere necessitie contraynes, audacitie is indged
pyudence, and couragious men neuer make ac-
count of perrill in greate matters: for that alwayes those
enterpises that begin with perrill, do end with rewarde,
and fowth of one perrill we can neuer issue without an o-
ther perrill.

Wel ordered Cities, that are administred vnder the name
of Common weales: do oftentimes varie and change
their gouernmentes and their states, not by the meanes
of libertie and seruitude as manye thinke: but by the
meanes of seruitude and licence. For of libertie the name
of the ministers of licence, which are the people is ce-
lebrated, and that of seruitude, which are the Nobili-
tye is celebrated, euerie one of those desire not to
be subiect, neither to the Lawes, neither vnto men:

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True it is, that when so; all that it chaunceth, that when through the good fortune of the Citie, there doth arise in the same, a wise, good, and mightie Cittizen, by whome Lawes are instituted, by whom these humours of the nobilitie and of the popolare sorte are quieted, or are restrained in such sort; that they cannot worke any euill: then it comes to passe that this Citie may be called free, and that State maye be called stable and firme, so; being grounded vpon good lawes and good orders, it hath no such necessitie of the vertue of one man, as the others haue: that doe maintaine the same, manye auncient Common-weales were endowd with like lawes and orders: all those that often in their gouernement haue changed and doe change from a tiranicall State to a licentious State, and from the one to the other, haue failed in this: and so; that in them through the mightie enemies that euerie one hath, there neither is nor can be any stabilitie, so; that the one dooth not please good men, the other doth displease wise men: the one may easily doe euill, the other may doe good but with great difficultie, in the one insolent men haue ouer-great authoritie, in the other those that be foolishly. And it is convenient that both the one and the other be maintained by one man through vertue and fortune, which either through death maye become lesse, or by trauaile become vnprofitable.

600 **A** Wise man ought euer little to chafe, to liue in a Citie where lawes are of lesse account then men: so; that Country is to be desired, in the which we may safely enioye our substance and our friends, not that where other men may easily take from vs that which is ours, and our friends, so; feare of their proper State, doe abandon vs in our most necessitie.

601 **P**rouinces so; the most parte are accustomed in the chaunges they make, from order to chaos to disorder, and afterwards againe, from disorder to passe to orders:

orders: for that the affaires of this worlde being not firme by nature, where they arrive at their last profession, not having wher-vpon to ascend higher: it fallies out of necessity that they descend, and after they be descended, and being come by disorder to the last step, not being able of necessity, to descend lower: it is convenient that they climbe up againe, and so alwaies from the good we descend to euill, and from the euill we ascend to good: for that warres bringes quietnes, quietnes bringes idlenes, idlenes engenders disorder, disorder doth ruinate vs, and likewise of ruine doth spring orders, of orders come vertue, of vertue ariseth glorie, and good fortune: wherefore of prudent persons it is obserued, as letters come after weapons, and that in Prouinces and Cities, Captaines are bozne before Philosophers, for that the good and well ordered weapons hauing brought forth victories, and victories brought quietnes: the fortitude and strength of armed mindes cannot be corrupted with a more honest idlenes, then which that of letters, neither can idlenes enter into a well ordered Citie, with a greater or more perillous deceite then by letters: Prouinces therefore come by these meanes to ruine, wherein being arrived, men by blowes being made wise returne to orders, if that alreadye through extraordinary forces they remaine not choked and deuoured.

There is not any thing more hard then that obedience the which we call the denyng of our selues, wherupon I cannot see the occasion wherfore we flee from performing towards God that which dooth carrie our health, and procure our selues to do it towards men, in things which doth promise vncertaine and small benefites, if we will not saye that this comes to passe through the common occasion of all euils, that is through our great ignorance & malice, which doth esteeme of nothing but these present and these earthly goods, beyond all measure, and together with the pleasure that many take to deceiue others: but through whatsoe-

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True it is, that when so; all that it chaunceth, that when through the good fortune of the Citie, there dooth arise in the same, a wise, good, and mightye Cittizen, by whome Lawes are instituted, by whom these humours of the nobilitie and of the popolare sorte are quieted, or are restrained in such sort, that they cannot worke any euill: then it comes to passe that this Citie may be called free, and that State may be called stable and firme, so; being grounded vpon good lawes and good orders, it hath no such necessitie of the vertue of one man, as the others haue: that do maintaine the same, manye auncient Common-weales were endowed with like lawes and orders: all those that often in their gouernement haue changed and do change from a tiranicall State to a licentious State, and from the one to the other, haue failed in this: and so; that in them through the mightye enemies that euerye one hath, there neither is no; can be any stabilitie, so; that the one dooth not please good men, the other doth displease wise men: the one may easily doo euill, the other may doo good but with great difficultie, in the one insolent men haue ouer-great authoritie, in the other those that be foolishly. And it is convenient that both the one and the other be maintained by one man through vertue and fortune, which either through death maye become lesse, or by trauaile become vnprofitable.

600 **A** wise man ought euer little to cōsume, to liue in a Citie where lawes are of lesse account then men: so; that Country is to be desired, in the which we may safelie chioye our substance and our frānds, not that where other men may easily take from vs that which is ours, and our frānds, so; feare of their proper State, do; abandon vs in our most necessitie.

601 **P**rouinces so; the most parte are accustomed in the chaunges they make, from order to chaos to disorder, and afterwards againe, from disorder to passe to orders:

orders: for that the affaires of this worlde being not firme by nature, where they arrive at their last profession, not having wher-upon to ascend higher: it fallies out of necessity that they descend, and after they be descended, and being come by disorder to the last step, not being able of necessity to descend lower: it is convenient that they climbe up againe, and so alwaies from the good we descend to euill, and from the euill we ascend to good: for that warres bringeth quietnes, quietnes bringeth idleness, idleness engendereth disorder, disorder both ruinate vs, and likewise of ruine both spring orders, of orders come vertue, of vertue ariseth glorie, and good fortune: wherefoze of prudent persons it is obserued, as letters come after weapons, and that in Provinces and Cities, Captaines are bozne before Philosophers, for that the good and well ordered weapons hauing brought forth victories, and victories brought quietnes: the fortitude and strength of armed mindes cannot be corrupted with a more honest idleness, then which that of letters, neither can idleness enter into a well ordered Citie, with a greater or more perillous deceite then by letters: Provinces therefore come by these meanes to ruine, whereinto being arrived, men by blowes being made wise returne to orders, if that alreadye through extraneous forces they remaine not choked and deuoured.

There is not any thing more hard then that obedience the which we call the denyng of our selues, wherupon I cannot see the occasion wherefoze we flee from performing towards God that which dooth carrie our health, and procure our selues to do it towards men, in things which doth promise vncertaine and small benefites, if we will not saye that this comes to passe through the common occasion of all euils, that is through our great ignorance & malice, which doth exclude of nothing but these present and these earthly goods, beyond all measure, and together with the pleasure that many take to deceiue others: but through whatsoe-

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uer occasion it dooth rise, it is a great ename to reputation.

703 **A** Armie being vanquished, the warres are vanquished, but the towne being vanquished, and leading the Armie entire: the warres begin to be moze hottes; soz somuch as that Armie which is entire, maye reconer the Townes, the which when they holde in their handes, the warres is not overcome.

704 **H**e is not wise that dooth attempt to defend a thing that in any case is to be lost, he may with lesse infamy and with lesse damage, lose any state alone, then to lose both the state and his monye.

705 **T**here is no man so prudent, neither any man so learned vpon the earth, but that the greatest part of that which he knowes is not lesse then that which lyes hid vnto him, herof it springes, that if we haue occasion to builde, we cal vnto vs cunning workmen and architectours: if we are to saile vpon the Seas, we demaund the counsell of Mariners: but in matters of warre, so much the moze diligently we ought to goe about to perfoyme this, by how much the perrill seemes to be greater: soz somuch as the harmies of other thinges seeme to be moze light, euerye want being able to be amended, but the errorrs of warre, besides the perpetuall shame, doe carrie with them blowes, woundes, death and destruction in a Common weale: the which are so extream euilles, that they cannot be corrected nor shunned: and therefore in these cases we ought to take mature counsell of wise men, and the aduertisement of those that are inueterated in Armes, and experiented in such seruice.

706 **T**here is no man so rash and folish hardye, that being able to depresse and ouercome the enemye with a prudent prolonging of time, will rather with a furious spede put the victorie in doubt and hazard, which deferring and lingering, doth promise him most certain: soz somuch as
victorie

victorie cannot be so well gotten with an inconsiderate
spede, as with a prudent stay: and neither so well
in going to finde the enemy at his owne doores, as to
defend himselfe within his owne confines: and to goe
about rather to put our selues in perrill, then ouertome:
is the part of an vnwise man, and of one that is moze rash,
then couragious.

WHe men haue not sought meanes and desired, that
faith should be moze obserued in any human action,
then in confederacies: for that, if faith be broken amongst
them which are bound together in leage, what thing is
there that can be accounted stable and entire in this world:
for which respect the iudgements which are made vpon
other contentions, for that they are as it were private,
give almost no other punishment then in money, and capi-
tall punishment: for that the lawes do not in any case sup-
port integrity, that he ought to be reputed for entire, which
is not of entire faith towards his confederates.

In the government of a Common-weale, euery man
doth confesse, that we ought to haue greater respect to
honor, then profit: for that even as a Citie is of great es-
timation and reputation, so faith ought to be pure and
sincere.

Euen as hoxes through idleness & ouermuch abundance
of meate becomes vniwildy and rellie: so people some-
times through the curtesie and benignity of those that go-
uerne, become insolent and proude, and haue neede of force
to hold back the reines of liberty.

When a Common-weale doth moue warres against
a Prince, she ought first to look about her and take
care that she be not deceined with the wordes of her ene-
my: besides that, she ought to traine vp her people, so as
they maye bee able to resist the invading force of the e-
nemy, and so withstand those perrilles which do chaunce
at vnawares. Thirdly she ought to make choise of prudent
and

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and well pradisid men, who may stand like sentinelles and watch-men, attentive and vigilant for the benefite of the Common-weale: and wisely vnderstand euery thing, and with great prudence provide for euery thing. Forthly, to conserue and keep the amitie of adioyning Princes, pelding fauour to those that haue merite: Last of all to write to the greatest Princes of the worlde, consulting with the vpon occurrent causes.

711 **T**he expences of the warres are greuous to euery one, but specially to the multitude, which do not foresee future perilles: Whereupon, euen vs Whistons vse oftentimes fire and iron, towards the sick persons they gouern, and lose one parte to saue the whole: so ought the gouernours of the Common-weale, perceiuing and foreseeing future perilles, constrain the people to spend one part of their goods, for the conseruation of all the rest: for that libertie being lost, euery thing falls into the handes of the Conquerour, and next doth follow the infamie and shame of slaerie: the which of worthy men ought to be chased away, euen vnto death it selfe.

712 **T**he people and the vulgare multitudes which do not foresee future things, do firste see and see the perilles before they haue imagined and thought vpon them: but excellent men, although they foresee perilles in a popolare Common-weale, neither cannot nor dare not make provision, for when they make demonstration of the perilles and perswade to vse remedye, immediately it is said they desire warres: and make laue and prohibitions in such sort that he that would provide for the safetie of the Citie, there should remaine no way for him able to performe the same. Whereupon it ariseth that making no provision, times do passe away, but when perilles are present, and cannot be auoyded, then full of feare, they consult what is to be don.

713 **T**hese men are worthy of very great infamie, who not caring to be infamous, do not obserue their giuen faith,

faith, neither their promises they haue made neither their
sworne conuentions. And although euery breach of pro-
mise be infamous, neuertheless y^e is most infamous which
against capitulations of peace, doth draw warres af-
ter it. For if the sacred effectes of faith, and the obseruing
of othes be taken away: what remains moze amongst
men that is good and goodly, whereby one may put trust in
an other: and by which inconueniences, the common con-
uersation and companie of men is broken.

It is manifeste to enery one, that nature hath graunted
not onely to men, but also vnto brute beastes, a certaine 714
desire of libertie: to obtaine and keepe the which libertie,
they enforce them selues with all diligence and naturall
industrie to performe all those things that may maintain
the same in them, and do beare great hate to all those that
they imagine to be contrary to these their appetites. And
this is apparentely perceined in those unreasonable crea-
tures, which are accustomed to remain domestically bound
who so soone as they are vnloosed from them that gouerne
them. with aces and gestures make signe, how gratefull it
is vnto them to be loose from those bondes: and Chaynes,
and that they are able to goe at libertie where they list.
And therfore if we beholde this naturall desire of libertie
to be in beastes, how much moze ought the same to be in
men, who God hath made aboue all other creatures, most
pudent and wise, and hath endowd vs with reason and
vnderstanding, to the intent that we may follow the order
of nature, and defend that libertie, then the which there is
nothing amongst men moze deere and of greater price and
belour: And although nature the mother of things hath
graunted vs infinite benefites, neuertheless she hath giuen
vs nothing, neither better neither sweeter then libertie.

Although warres are made and taken in hand for many 715
occasions, neuertheless there is none more iust nor moze

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worthy of praise, then that which is taken in hand for the defence of our libertie and of our Country, the which doth containe in it, our houses, our Children, our wives, our fathers and mothers, riches, the Temples, and finally every humane and deuine thing.

716 **T**here be two things in a Common-weale, the which although by effect and name they are swete: neuertheles oftentimes they haue bene an occasion of great harmes to mightie and noble Cities, as peace and a restraint of money worth of the publike profit. For that perrills being placed a farre off or before our eyes: either they are not sene or if they be sene, whilst we do overmuch delight in sparing or in peace, we esteeme them so small, that almoste we are brought into every euident perrill, before we will provide for the terrible name of warre although we be in manifest danger, and all to shun the obious name of expences.

717 **A** King is no other then a man brought vp in deliacies, and as it is accustomed to be said in swaddle clothes, and is a man that hath need of a greate number of officers and seruants. From whome if his wonted seruices be taken away: without doubt he is of lesse power then others, forsomuch as he is not accustomed neither wonted to exercise neither his feete, neither his handes, neither any other parte of his body, but to liue in idlenes. And Kings knowe better how to commaund then to perfoyme.

718 **H**e is as well to be reprobended that through balenes of minde dooth suffer those occasions to passe, whereby he might reconer his state, assure the rest, & succour others into whome he is bound and beholden: as on the other side also he that ouer boldly or ouer rashly dooth commit all things to fortune, where he cannot loke for due & worthy recompence of his perrills and trauailes.

719 **W**hen there be many mighty men and Cities confederate together, it being conuenient that many heads should be of one selfe opinion: it is impossible that they should

should long maintain them selves, all of them united together, or that they should vse one selfe consultation: or bring suddainly things to effecte, because they are not of one selfe will and minde, but rather euery one is onely carefull for his owne proper profit. For where many mindes are disagreeing: there likewise their dooers fall out to be disagreeable, whereof there can neuer any thing that is perfect arise.

Courageous men ought neuer to make account of perils in greates matters. Therefore those merite to be praised that vse endeouours, not only to deliuer themselves from tyrannie: but become vnto him that doth aspire vnto tyrannie, so much his superiour, that he haue greater cause to be grieved and to feare them: then they him.

A Good Citizen ought neuer to speake neither for fauour or grace, neither through the indignation or beneuolence of others: but onely in respect of that he knowes to be laudable and best, aswell for the particular as generall commonitie of all. And neuer to perswade any thing but which shall be as agreeable to God: as in the sight of men reasonable, iust, and sacred, louing rather better the public benefites and the vniuersall quiet, then his owne proper life.

The end of all enterprises is more trouble then the beginning: for to giue end to a begun enterpryse, requires trauaile. And a ship doth freely cut through the Seas, although the windes doe not blowe prosperously, the Partners alwaies bending their sayles in such sort, that they goe so forward vpon their voyage, but coming to enter in to the Hauens: it is necessary to haue prosperous windes, hauing to enter with their ship in at a straight passage.

A Captain ought not to comforte his Souldiers, but vnto a glorious enterpryse, so that to comforte them to their wonted woorks & actions is shameful, not only to them

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that are comforted, but also to him that doth comfort, sa-
king so, at the hands of the shouldour, that which he is
bound unto.

724 **T**he Soules of those Warriours and valiant men, that
haue bene assailed and thought to dye so, their coun-
trye, so, their Children, and so, their religion, being disse-
uered with weapons from the bondage of their bodie: it is
no doubt but the shining starry heauens doth receiue them
into a most happie quiet mansion: and there doth remaine
upon earth some signe of glorie or clamour: so, that those
that dye by infirmity, do leaue behinde no memozy of them
but he that goes against his enemye, if it chauce he dye,
glorie doth follow him.

724 **H**e that doth serue his turne with the benefite of trai-
terie, through the receiued grace, doth take therein
like a Conquerour subdaine pleasure, and guided in time
to come with a continuall suspicion, at one instant dooth
feare and hate the traitour, although he haue bene benefi-
ciall vnto him, and haue that in himselfe, and proued the
same haue afterwards to take heed and warily to spurne the
signe of treachery.

725 **A**ll great facts are accustomed to be better directed
with good counsellors, then with celeritie of time: so,
that, so, the most parte a mature dilation, which with op-
portunity doth conduct to the end, doth carry with it much
greater profite: but rash and actie and quer-
curious speed
in matters, when they are not performed in time conueni-
ent, and apt, hath cutt off from many the hope to dispatch
any thing: so, that the enemy doth more easily overcome
a multitude which as yet is not in order, then that which
with fewer people, but well instructed and ordered, dooth
come to giue an onset, and to fight.

726 **H**aving not well provided so, one warre, and to goe a-
bout to take in hand another, is a great folly, so, that
those which hang in ballance, and are not intrested against
one

one onely enemye, reason will that they be overcome by their aduersaries.

To raise vp in time a Campe for any place, hath directed and reduced many to better fortune: but the desire to do some glorious act, and that doth taste of a valiant man: the same being not perfozmed in time, hath brought him rather into slaverye & perpetual dishonour, then made him glorious and honourable: for that we are not to seeke after and follow the names of things, but rather are to gain the commoditie of them: for that the vertue of a man doth not shewe it selfe in thinges that are new begun, but those which are brought to an ende do make him noble and famous.

727

The enemye doth thinke and see those that with a great preparation and at one instant tyme goe to assault him: but those which desire perpetually to conserue their bodies and remaine far off from the warres, are sone overcome, and made slaues: for that it is of great importance in warfare to haue prompt and readie the willes of the combatants, and when their mindes are inclined to fight, they are accustomed to accomplishe manye & egregious victozies and famous thinges, but how small and fewe soeuer those valiant men and armed with vertues are, yet they surpasse the great armies of the enemye.

728

Those do not gaine great praise, that haue overcome the lesse mightye, but those also that with lesse preparations do surpasse the rest in greatnes of minde. But to those which of their proper nature are very timorous, it would fall out to be a great help to them to be full of courage and audacitie, for that for the most parte, all those whose states depend vpon shels and weapons, by despising perilles courageously, they haue oftentimes become victozious.

729

VVe maye more easelye breake and kill those that of thinges alreadye done, haue carried away the victorie (if peraduerture) they are puffed vp & made proud there.

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by, then those that without thinking upon the same, be fallen downe from the same: although they proceed with their enemies in time to come more timorously and doubtfully: for negligence and basenes do corrupt also those things that are excellently well ordered, but trauaile accompanied with care and diligence: hath aided greatly vnto mannye, although fortune hath bene contrarie vnto them: for that those that with slothe and folly take in hand any enterpryse, are accustomed oftentimes to weaken themselves, and to faile in their forces, but those that proceed in the same with care and with diligence, are accustomed to encrease marueilously.

731 **T** All those that are bozne, the selfe-same ende of life doth not followe, neither the very same chaunce and qualitie of death, as in many things it comes to passe, men are disagreeing amongst themselves: for those that are Cowards and not apt for the warre, hauing first receiued many iniuries, and giuen occasion to cause themselves to be flouted of the enemy, according to the paires that God hath most ordained, they finish and make an end of their destinie, the which for al that ought not to chaunce to worthy and valiant men, who with vertue and with great glory ought to finde the meanes to end their liues.

732 **T** Those that be rather do much more easly obtaine the name of couragious, then those that be politike and prudent, for that he that doth take vpon to performe any enterpryse, ouer and beside his dutie, though the beniuolence of any one, vnto whome peradventure he seeme to be a valiant & wise man, obtaines honoꝝ: but he that prudently and with iudgement doth auoide any perill, neither for all that hath well performed those things according to his desire, he shalbe without doubt accounted capable, though the occurrence of the thing, and if it fall out according to his minde and iudgement, it will not come vnto the ignorant

rant that he hath done any thing of himselfe.

Humaine things are sometimes accustomed to deceiue much: so; that euery man being mortall, and it seeming to euery one, to be hardly apt so; the rash disgraces of fortune, it is necessarie (as reason will that he cleerly and manifestly see his grossenes and insolence, and neuertheles, although he will not, yet he must needs be subiect to the necessitie of fortune. 733

We may easilys fight with those that are halfe dead with hunger, and much soner overcome the enemy with dearth and famine, then with weapons, neither can we cast moze sharpe darters, neither shote moze swift arrowes against our aduersaries, then those of long abstinence and fasting: the which being a disease that consumeth force, it is not nourished with any other meat then with want of things to eate, and the penury of meate both cast to the ground and ruinate the force of weapons. 734

There is no Captaine so farre out of his right senses, or simple shouldour so rash, that being able to fight with securitie & aduantage, will rather to his losse and perill attempt the chaunce of battaile, and that maye without blowes or wounds receiue victorie, will rather with blood put his health and safetie in doubtfull hazard. 735

Euery one knows howe stolic and without traiaile they doe handle their weapons, whose armes are consumed with fasting, and can with great paine rule themselves: and he cannot very well perfourme any thing with them in battaile, that in other exercises hath consumed his forces: and there victorie is speedily obtained, where he that is whole doth fight with the sicke: the strong, with the weak, and the assisted with labour, with him that hath neuer tasted of any traiaile. 736

It is an extreame follye to abandon with the base minde of a woman, and to despise with a childish feare that 737

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that which is gained with the minde of a man, and with the valour of a Souldier, and to giue into the hands of the enemye that which he hath as yet not gayned, together with riches not hoped for, and therefore what hope can be had in them, or how maye we beleue that they are to be haue themselves in armes, who making the profession of Souldiours, are onely made afraide with thinking vpon warres, and with the imagination of battailes: therefore is it better to take a glorious death, then to desire to liue to lead a shamefull and vile life, for in a short space of time life doth leaue vs, but shame doth neuer leaue vs, even after death: but doth rather make our shame so much the longer and the greater, by how much our death hath bene shamefull and infamous.

738 **W**hat signe of victorie can we receiue more certaine, then before the battaile to possesse the spoyle, and to occupie the enemies lodgings before we come to fight with them: and it is much better to overcome securely by putting the enemy in feare then to put in doubt, and hazard his safetie, with making profe experience of armes.

739 **T**here is nothing more sweet to him that is in calamitie then death: and that death is most happie, which is hoped for and desired, for that he doth not take awaye the delights of time but doth consume the vnpleasant taste of bitter and noysome things, and as in prosperous things it is good to desire life, so in aduersitie it is fit we call after death.

740 **I**t is the parte and duetie of a good Citizen, that he doe preserve himselfe for the benefite of the Common-weale, and beware that he doe not harne without some frutt, and he ought not to leaue off and to slippe any sit saying or act for the commoditie of his Countie, yea if moeouer, he could no other wise then with his blood preserve it.

Those which haue a desire to furnish and to obtaine any thing, are accustomed to differ in their wordes and their dedes:

desires: sozsomuch as they saine all thinges to obtain their intent, but after they haue once obtained it, they do not in any sorte abstaine from the fulfilling of their desires, and besides this those that come after do alwaies force themselves to ouerpasse their amcestours in audacitie, thinking that the like is small, soz that before it hath bene committed, they chose that which is vnaccustomed, as if it were a thing fit and woorthy for them, because it is behinde the opinion and expectation of men.

Those that hunt after and desire the gifts of liberalitie, 742
it is necessarye that they prouide and force themselves that they do not lose the same at the beginning: sozsomuch as seruitude doth alwaies giue the firste and chafest molestation. It is a iust thing to moue warres, because they will not sustaine the same, but he that is once become subiect to others, and afterwarde would rebell, doth shewe himself rather to be a contumelious slave, then a lover of libertie.

In warres it doth not onely benefite to be stowe of men, 743
although they be very warlike: but also it doth benefite the small number, if amongst them there be force: for those that be few, may easily set themselves in order, and maye easily help one another: but great armies are of greater trauaile to be set in order, and besides that they carrie alwaies with them many vices of minde, and those thinges that are of balewe in prosperitie, though euery small error, are extinguished, and become woorth nothing.

Euen as it is the act of vain-glorious and light men, to 744
become proud in prosperitie, so is it the acte of men of vile and base mindes, to become afraide in errors and aduersities: soz he that doth so, doth shewe that he hath no constancie at all, & that he is over-light headed, to change himselfe firste into one parte, then into another: and that the strong man of fortitude is he, that doth remaine firme and doth not change: whose minde is sober and quiet, e-

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uen in thinges that be administred unluckily, to the intent he may be accounted one selfe person in all his actions, correcting errorrs with right counsellors.

745 **N**o man at any time vnlesse he be a vanquishour, doth chage wars into peace: and it is a great folly to hope for safetie by flying, and by casting away his armes & weapons wherewithall he doth defend himselfe, and doth tower his owne proper bodie: and those doe bringe greatest perilles in a battaile, which are most afraide, for that audacitie is as it were a most strong wall.

746 **W**hen the Nobility gouerns a Common-weale, that government cannot be but good, and cheselye when they gouerne by loue, and haue an eye to the common benefite: for that the Nobilitie being free from the occupations of Artificers and handie-crafts, they may haue their mindes moze apt and turned to the management of the conseruation of the State: but when contrariwise the Nobilitie haue their mindes blinded with some passions, or corrupted with bribes: then iustice running into ruine, can neuer be found quiet nor in tranquillitye: and specialllye, turning that gouernement to the damage of the people, to the shame and infamie of the Common-weale.

747 **T**o prepare for warres, and at one time not to charge *Leuansq*, to constrain vnto warfare those y^e would not endamage, to take care of all those things appertaining to peace and warres, and to doe them before the eyes of the enuious, of those that are partiall, and those that are aduersaries: is a way moze difficile, then that which a man would beleene.

748 **I**t is not a parte appertaining to a right Souldiour, to runne first to one side, then to another, for vnto that capitaine or Souldiour that hath no stedfast faith: a charge of importance, cannot be committed vnto his handes, neither

neither cannot be trusted with any strong place: and therefore vnto men that be strong and of valour, it appertayneth moze to despise death, then to haue our life in hatred: and oftentimes those that be vile and base, are forced either through the tedious toyle and trauaile, to prouide for themselves and for their owne profit, but vertue dooth leaue nothing behinde vnprouided and vnerperimented.

Necessitie and force goe oftentimes before reason, and chāsefelp in the enterprises of warres, in the which very rarely we can be able to determine and to assemble times, so much as the fortune of warres doth instruct euen those that are overcome, in the art of warrefare. 749

What thing is of greater disgrace, then to lament our selues of iniuries, and to prepare our selues to war to our perilles, and slyng and Chunning the Iudge, make him our enemye: for that the Iudge although he be wicked, neuertheless doth interpret the Lawes, but thy enemye although he be iust, doth seeke thy death: then therefore we ought to please the Iudge, and defend our selues from our enemy: to the intent he do not moue and raise vp our neighbours against vs: for that by pleasing them, they become moze benigne, and this is auoyded by standing aloofe from him. 750

Although valour and vertue, be accustomed to be commended in warrefare: neuertheless, Fortune hath a swaye and rule therein: but it is conuenient that prudent men amend their faulkes and errours, and in prosperitie to be modest, for rude wittes become proude, through any happye successe, as though they were not to fight with men: and those that be weake through anye sinister chaunce, loose all hope without considering that the successe of warres doo easlye change: 751

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change: he therfore is a most woorthy man, that in aduersities can manly sustaine the suries of fortune, and dooth studie to amend his wants & faults: but he that is negligent, dooth fall oftentimes in his rising, and running headlong, goos altogether into ruine: but if this oftentimes fall out where onely vertue is, how much moze in warres: where the Squadrons are of sundrye generations, their mindes and their willes sundrye, the place contrarye, the raggednes therof difficile, and the space of ground strait to fight in, in which thinges fortune is of greater force then vertue.

752 **W**hen a Citizen perswading publicke benefites, dooth not shewe therein any passion, in applying himselfe to private benefites, he dooth easlye encline the mindes of the hearers, to all that which he desires, but when in perswading publick benefites it seemes he hath a meaning to procure some private commoditie, or his owne profite: he dooth not so easlye bow and make saourable the mindes of them that heare him.

753 **I**t is a moze filthye and infamous thing to those that are in anye dignitie, to gaine with fraude and with deceite: then by manifest and open violence, for violence by all reason procedes from the power which fortune hath given vnto some: but deceite, from the snares of an vniust minde.

754 **W**hat wise Captain which with a god, vigilant and prudent eye, hath in consideration the enemies errours, and dooth dispose himselfe to assault them hot telye and courageously: not in equall battaile, or at an appointed time, not with like wil, but according as he shall see his aduantage, he dooth obtaine victorie for the most parte.

755 **M**ake my account, that that Citle which departs from the exercise of busines, and giues it selfe to idleness, will some tyme into ruine: and that those men among all the rest liue in greatest securitie, that vnder the present lawes, although

although they were lesse god,, without any contention, do gouerne their Common-weale, without strife and disorde.

If those cases that may endamage a Common-weale, it is better to remaine prouided to defend them, then to expect to make prouision when they are come: and in all matters of warre, it is better to feare, then to dispaire: for that feare makes wise men to be alwaies prouided, and despising for the most parte dooth bryng vs into those ends that are neither desired nor beloued.

Euery well ordered Common-weale, ought to procede faire and easily to banish a man smyth of his house, and to send him into exile: who throught his vertue or throught his fauour, either with his owne or with foraine strangers, may be embraced of his enemies, and that may moze hurt them being banished, then he could benefite, being at home in his owne house.

For that it is a perrillous thing to tell the trueth vnto Princes, and speciall ye in those thinges, that they are resolutely determined to do, esteeming them for god: therefore it seldome comes to passe, that they are well councelled, and as they ought to be: forasmuch as if they tell the trueth, he becomes their enemy: if they flatter, he obtaynes their grace: and flattery is moze secure then veritie.

If the opinion and iudgements that be contrary amongst themselves: be not well examined and discuffed, we cannot so easily make choise of the best parte, but it is conuenient to vse that which is first repozted: but when many do alleadge that which euery one dooth beleeue to be best, we may make choise thereof, as we would do of golde that dooth glister of it selfe: and being put to the touch, is discerned whether it be pure or not.

All the gaine of great enterprizes, dooth consist in good counsell, and although some froward hap doe chaunce against

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against all counsell this comes to passe, for that fortune dooth overcome our prouidence, but hee that doth take naughty counsell, (although it succæde happily) is worthy of blame, for verie sildome to the deuices of euill counsell doth succæd prosperous endes.

761 **A** God counsellour ought neuer to hide the trueth, although it turn to the pzeiudice of his life: for it is better for him to lose his life, then to keepe secret a god counsell: for that the end of things will make manifest of what minde he was that did wisely giue counsell, and who did speak things to please the Prince, to flatter him: and it will then followe, that the god counsellour will be better beloved being so dead, then the flatterer shall be esteemed, that remaines liuing.

762 **M**any chaunces in warrefare make men belauē, that men constrained of necessitie, proceed much farther then their proper courage, and naturall force dooth beare: and hereby it comes to passe, that many after the overthrowe constrained to begin a new battaile, haue ouerthrowne the vanquishours,

763 **T**hose which haue their life in giste of the enemye, and accustomed oftentimes to dye with miserie and with shame: and contrariwise all those that consider that the law of death is common to all, without hauing to fighting combate, or any other perrill: they goe to encounter an honorable death: & such as those haue I euer seene, arrive to a godly olde age, and during their life, alwaies to manage honorable enterprizes, and such as were full of great praise and fame.

764 **I**tsildom comes to passe that any god counsel should not generally be accepted of all: for that our vnderstanding being by nature giuen to settle and staye it selfe in true things, or that haue great apparence of trueth, it is requisite that they should embrace right counsellors for good and true.

The speech of a light and of an inconstant person, is reputed vnprofitable and vaine. who doth vnconsiderately runne here and there without any reputation or hono^r. Contrariwise when it is knowne, that any one doth carry greate respecte to his faith: his speache when he doth desire, praye or make request, is much more worth then the force of any other. And the same chanceth when he would cause any one to returne to his obedience, he doth farre more basely obtaine his desire with wordes, then another with deedes, and his threathings haue more force then other meanes, executions and punishments: and he dooth bring forth greater frute by promising, then any other by giuing.

No man that dooth gouerne and rule others: can haue neither a more godlye neither a more honourable riches then vertue, iustice, and the magnanimitie of minde: The which if any one haue. hauing together with the same greate numbers of frendes, and trustie faithfull persons: he can not but be verie rich, neither shall he want any persons that shall reioyce with him in his prosperitie, and who in tyme of aduersite fortune, will conuerse with him, helpe him and succour him.

It is no doubt but that the conetousnes of Princes Officers, be apte and sufficient, to make their goodnes and bountie infamous. For that Princes when they make warres, not being able for the moste parte to be there in personne: of force they must put trust in their Officers and Commissaries of their Campe. Who believing that the Souldiours, may be driuen off and enterpayned with sayde woozdes and greate hopes: retaines those payes which Princes doe send to the Armye to paye the Souldiours.

Not onely the Common-weales, but also prinate men ought of necessitie, by how much the more they flourish

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rich in forces: by so much the moze to procure themselves those things, which at some time maye turne to their profit, to the intent that when occasion and need requires, they may have a defence wherewithall to help themselves.

769 **H**e that desires to overcome, ought not to put himselfe in flight: for victorie is not gained with our shoulders but with our hands: & every victorie merites to be praised in every place, but that which is shewed & set in warres is worthy to be celebrated and lift by even unto heaven, for that the same is visible, and both shine in the midst of so many perilles, no lesse then golde in the midst of a hot flaming fire.

770 **F**rom the beginning of the world it hath been instituted for a lawe, that Cities taken by warres, should appertaine to the conquerours: and besides this, the men, the money, and what thing soever else is within the Citie, to be a reward of the victorie.

771 **M**en esteeme it a great thing to gaine Empire, but much greater it is to keepe it after that it is gotten: for that we oftentimes see, that manie through avaricity and fortune may take a Kingdome, but not maintain it: whilst it is gained with much diligence and care, without Prudence and Temperance.

772 **T**he proportion of the name doth not make anye man friend or enemy: but the good or evil which we reap of things, doth make the friends or enemies: loving those that bring vs good, and hating those that bring vs evil: neither have men planted this lawe, neither have we taken it from any of our predecessours, but nature both teach it vs: and for this respect, we leave our friends when they offend vs, and embrace our enemies when they do benefit vs: and that Citie which hath engendred vs, we love it when it doth well, and dispaire it when it shewes the contrary, and doth evil: and this fallies not out by reason of the place where it is set: but through the damage or through

thorough the profite which chaunceth to be perfoirmed by the same, neither doth it chaunce only to private persons, to haue such opinion of euery of these things, but also vnto all Cities and vnto all people. Demaunde nothing but that which is according to the diuine lawes, neither do any thing out of the common iustification of men.

That Captaine which dooth thinke that he can with wordes, make those men couragious, which neuer haue some the enemy in the face: doth greatly deceiue him selfe. Wherefore in enterprises of importance, it is no wisdom to set an Armye of young and vnerpert Souldiours, in the face of a Campe of olde tryed Souldiers. For although the General be most valiant and prudent, neuer theles he cannot with securitie serue his turne with those that haue small practise in warfare.

The troupes and great multitudes of people, are very easie to be deceiued and perswaded any thing. Vnto whome it oftentimes chaunceth the same that it doth vnto the Sea: for euen as the Sea by his nature doth no hurt to those y^e use it well: but if it be tossed with furious windes, it becomes like to the windes wherewithall it is tumbled on euery side. So likewise the multitude becomes like to those that manage them which are their Captains and counsellors.

To me it seemes that Hauen townes are much liker to Shippes then to the Land or Hoze: for they haue in them a continuall concurrence and greate aboundaunce of Marchants, but that which is gathered and reaped of the frutes of the earth and by the worke and industrie of Artificers, is moze sure and doth continue longer. For this occasion, the ancient Empires for the most parte, were farre off from the Seaes, and therefore they did encrease and endure long.

Espye amongst Captaines hath alwayes bene an occasion to ruinate Armyes, and to destroye Kingdomes.

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fo: that suffering them selves to be caried away with passions, they vse not their counsellors fo: the common profit but according to the euill disposition of their mindes, whereupon it followes, that those which haue given good counsell, be despised, and afterwarde Princes by meanes of those euill counsellors: sinde themselves to be depriued of their States.

777 **A**lthough a Generall or Ambassadour haue Commission of his Prince to conclude any thing, neuertheles he ought not to take vpon him so much authoritie, that thereby their commission should become rash or licentious: and chiefly when in the managing of things there is some point that may do hurt to the honour of his prudence, the which thing the Ambassadour ought not to ratifie, neither to accept anye thinge, befoze he haue aduertised his Prince thereof.

778 **I**t is no safetie fo: a free Citie, to fauour any parte, where two Princes that are neighbours make warres together. And also to stande in the midst and keepe a meane, doth not bring with it greate securitie, fo: that these two Princes at the last maye agree together to ruinate them, whilst thou hast bene neither frende to the one no: to the other.

779 **I**t comes to passe of necessitie, that those that possesse any thing, should be laid in waite fo: by many. Therefore it is good that he preuent the snares of his enemies, to the intent that those that do repose themselves in their owne proper goodes, should not fall into those daungers like vnto those that throughe ouermuche aboundaunce do moue warres.

780 **N**o frend doth differ from an enemy by nature, which is comon to every one, but by customes and by deeds. The which being good, makes every stranger seem to be his neighbour & familiar, but being wicked: makes every man although a neighbour, to become a stranger.

Nature

Nature hath appointed it to be healthfull and necessary 781
to man, that some should be rulde and governed, and
it is impossible that without this order, anye thing should
perseuere and go forward any long time, and it is a conue-
nient thing that one that is ruler ouer another, haue care
ouer conuenient thinges, and to commaund, but he that is
subiect, it appertaines vnto him to be obedient without
any excuse, and to execute diligentlȳ that which is com-
maunded him.

Although iniuries be done vnto a man, yet for all that 782
he doth not euer lȳ vnder: neither he that is superi-
our in power is alwaies a banquishour, but the one & the
other are subiect to humaine instabilitie and the vncer-
taintie of fortune: and oftentimes the ends doe not suc-
ceed according to the hopes that we haue, but quite against
their thoughts and imaginations.

That man becomes terrible, that either is iniuriéd or 783
reputes himselfe to be iniuriéd, and verȳ many times
besides his force, he puts himselfe into perilles, carrying
this minde, that either he will overcome or not lose, with-
out drawing blade of the enemy: and they sometimes
are banquishours, and sometimes are euertome: and now
equall in power, now inferiour: it fallés out that some dye
altogether and some other obtaine the victorie of Cadmus.

When discordes be gine amongst any that indēuour 784
themselves to resist violence with violence, and
knowe not that reuenge cannot be made with equitie
and humanitie, but according to the appetite and licence
which they take through weapons: it comes to passe that
they make a circular & winding compasse of euils, with-
out end and it comes y there is successuēly made a resoluti-
on of crueltie: so that he y is banquishour, doth abound
in iniuries, & giues no end to his doing euil, and he that is
disgraced through the displeasure and wrath of his miserie.

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if in the beginning he be not altogether destroyed, he remaines in continuall desire to reuenge himselfe against him that did him iniuries, vntill such time as he feele himselfe satisfied in his minde: and in like sorte the rest of the multitude, although they haue not bene partakers of this thing, neuerthelesse, through the pittie they beare to him that is overcome, and through the enuye they beare to the vanquishour: fearing also to suffer such like, and hope they maye be able to doe the same to him: and by this meanes the one halfe of the Citizens are moued to make sedition, and the one and the other succeeds and followes on to euil, which is like to a Circulare and legitimate course, hauing this occasion to reuenge those that haue bene oppressed, and although they are priuately set free, neuerthelesse euery way they destroy the Common-woale.

785 **T**he instrumentes of Paiestrates and of armies is so toygned and lincked with humaine imperfections, that they are not apt for the diuinitie, as deuine worshipps are: which raising vs from the earth, makes vs to appoche nere to God himselfe: and consequentye doth make vs moze partakers of his vertue, then of any care of worlde matters: where-upon doth spring and arise good fame, and after the same, that reputation which is holden in highest degree, dialouing the mindes of the people into a firme beleefe that we are exactly god, not in exterior actions, but in inward conscience: and besides that inducing them to holde for certaine, that we cannot erre, God being vpon our side: which likewise is an occasion that men reuerence vs with a certaine feare, not to offend vs: because they will not offend together therewithall his diuine maiestie.

786 **W**hen we take in hand any voyage, the ende is, to arrive at that place whither we thinke to goe, the midd o; meane is the way by the which we take our iourney: so in our affaires we ought to haue befoze our eyes, two considerations,

considerations, the end, and security to arrive with satisfaction, but when vnto these two, speede maye be ioyned: then haue we fully all those parts that appertains to perfect affaires.

Of the two, offensive warres is better then the defensive: for that he y^e doth assault, hath already thought vpon all that which is necessarye for him, and therefore he is become thorowlye resolute: but he that is assaulted, is taken either vnprovided or provided: the vnprovided person doth prepare & defend himselfe by force, and without doubt hath infinite disadvantages, the which if they come to him through the fraud of others, he is excused: but if he know himselfe to haue any mightye enemye, and hath not forseene the same: he is worthy of blame, and dooth merite the name of imprudent. He that is provided will likewise be accounted not verie wise, if he haue not vsed all force and diligence, to be the first to issue and break, for that although before the chaunce do fall, it appears that he is furnished with so much as is needefull, yet vpon the deede doing, great store of wants discover themselves, and with long proceeding and continuance, for the most parte he growes worse, and to fæle defects, for so much as he falls vnto the want of Captaines, of Souldiours, of victuals, of artillerie, and of other such like things necessarye for the saide defence: the which proceeds because he is not able to worke by entire free choice and election, and that he is constrained to do euery thing through more necessitie, besides that his owne proper people do suffer infinitely, with the perrill of their totall ruine, and with continuall feare of losse, without any hope of gaine.

The counsell of a Prince compounded of diuers and sundry persons, is most commended: for many haue provided many things, and all consists in experience, because the subiect is humane actions, wherein we oftentimes see by proofe, that that thing doth succede and fall out, which by

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reason was not looked for; and many men, besides that they haue sene much, haue heard many things and read much, wherby they possesse a discourse of greater effect, and like wise because the affaires that are consulted vpon are many and sundrye, therin is to be required diuers and sundry iudgementes: and he that rules, hath so huge a Machine vpon his shoulders, that he is forced to haue many armes, to lay hand vpon to helpe him to sustaine that heauy burden.

789 **T**he counsellour of a Prince ought both to be quicke and graue; to the intent that by his onely viuacitie, he become not vaine: and throught only grauitie, grosse and sluggish: being quick he wil be vigilant, and if graue, he wil be well staide in himselfe to giue eare: and in the act of counselling if he be quicke, he doth discover difficulties, dooth pearce and see into them, and doth not lose the courage of his minde, and hath recourse to prouision and pvention: and if graue, he examines and resolues feares, perrils, and determines vpon the prouisions: and so viuacitie makes him to foresee, and grauitie causeth him to prouide, and he that doth prouide, will: and he that doth foresee, knowes: and he that will and knowes, and is not hindred, and empeched, may put his valour in execution: and for that the quick person is subtile and sharpe, and the graue firme and mature: the one doth arise more by nature then by experience, and the other more by experience then by nature: we may say that of viuacity, comes wit, and of gravity, iudgement wherof prudence is framed: and that god waye and maner how to vse the same, which is dexteritie, so that for the full perfection of counsell, it is necessary that viuacitye and grauitie doe concurre therein, the one giuing to another reciprocally helpe.

790 **C**ounsell is made of those things that remaine alwaies in one selfe forme, neither of those that doe change and are notozious, neither of those which although they be diffi-

cile,

scile, neuerthelesse there remaines and rests not much, but when any case doth fall out, that hath manye shapes and cullours, so that it may change it selfe in sundry sortes, and take many formes, and that it doth impoſte much either in apparence or in consequence, or in the one and the other sorte: the which thing comes often, so that oftentimes matters doe fall out, which carrie with them such doubts as are to be had in consideration.

If the government of a free Citie, where there is no head 791
that is vndoubtedly Lord and Maister: euerye thing is subiect to his lawes, but in a Monarchie men are not bound vnto them, but all that which doth please the Monarch himselfe, becomes Lawe in effect: the which he maye perſorme, either by letters or by subscriptions, either by decrees, or by wordes, or by edicts, or in some other sort: and euen as the father of a familie maye at his pleasure alter the orders, that he hath constituted in his house: So a Prince hath so great authoritie ouer his subiects as he wil himselfe: and mozeouer so much the greater, by how much the moze his power is free: and much moze also, so that the same doth extend ouer all the principalls of the houses, the Citie being all, and the house parte of all.

Since it doth chaunce so the most parte that the people 792
doe taste of extreame pouertie, and the pobilitie of extreame riches, (in a Commonweale not well ordered) it destroyes the forme of ciuill government: sozomuch as those that be extreame poore, vse industrie, to followe traffick and frande, and those that are very rich become proud, insolent, and insupportable: and finallye seditions doe arise: the disorders of these extremes, proceeding so far sozward, that either those of base degree, recommend themselves to great persons which are mightie, and therefore able to giue them liuinges: or great men goe about to gaine those of mean and base degree, to make them partiall vnto them

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them with the occasion, by finding them euill satisfied, and by hauing the meanes to entertain them, and so they may easlye stirre by tumults against the regall power.

793 **T**hat Citizen that would be holden for iust, it is necessarie, that he know how to distribute, euerye thing to all persons, according to their degrees and dignities, and that he knowe how to defend the customes and orders of his Countrie, to obserue the lawes, and to be vp:right in con-
trouerxies, and stand firme in conuentions.

794 **T**o amend entirely the customes of a Citie, to provide for disorders, to remedie scandalles, to take away abuses, to roote out vices, to keepe in safetie the people, and to conduct and bying them to a vertuous and happy life: as it is a thing of very great impoztance, so without doubt it is so much more glozious and commendable.

795 **E**very man carries great hate to those, who towards their benefactors do shew themselves ingratefull, therefore euen as it is a thing proper to authoritie, to nourish vs with honour and praise, and that since we are thereby moued and inflamed to followe studies through the sweetness of glozy: so men of hye spirites, if they see the traualles they haue taken for other mens comodities, oftentimes to be acknowledged with benigne and gratefull mindes, they reioyce in their honest traualles, and become pleasant in those perilles that most terrifie and triumph in y^e midst of most cruell deaths, since that with the spirite of saime, they are so noble and worthily maintained in life, where, for with great forwarde they aduenture their bodies willingly, inticed through hope, that the force of benefite ought to remaine imprinted in the memoyses of men eternally.

796 **T**he good qualities that are found amongst men, are confirmed either by vertue, either by long vse and habite, or by natures, carrying with the an inclination therunto, euen from their swaddles, or by a certain artificialnes
men

men, depending by that means to be able to attain to some purpose or determined invention: therefore it is required in the first place for honour, that liberty and availability be on them by nature, not for that it is not good to obtaine the same virtuously but by coercion, but for that not being able to will to make any consent of the several parts of o-thers, sometimes it is necessary, that which is done by arti-ficiall means, that being the advantage of those, that it serves, that it is like but a means, where by it may easily be, since, but nature doth never need it.

Hat he desires to know, it is a question that he diffolds himself to the matter long time before, and makes himself to make every one his friend, but knows all: these be signes to be of a good spirit, men of traine and abillitie, and in the end haue courage in them: It is also good to obteine friends, both at all times, and at all, so that they be taken in time: and the more to take them, ought to be so much the greater in the time, by how much more at that instant, a benefit, how little sooner it be, comes to haue great force to haue great effectes & parts of beneficence.

The right wayes to take to obtaine penances, are
those which are accomplished and done before the time
of the demand. For that the time of payment, and debt
being come: those haue gatted friends that stand them in
good earnest. Forasmuch as those that are gotten in that
time, that the service done unto them, are perceived of them
to be done for a desire to please them and not in hope of re-
warde, forasmuch as pleasures so flatter the payment, can-
not be gratefull: neither received with good confidence.

Benevolence sometimes is gotten, no less with reu-
erence and with doing benefits, than with receiving
them, and chiefly of those that are of greater power :
into the weaker parts become fracted, when they per-
ceive them. Thus, to be attended, and that confidence
is put in them, with often seeking for some pleasures at
their

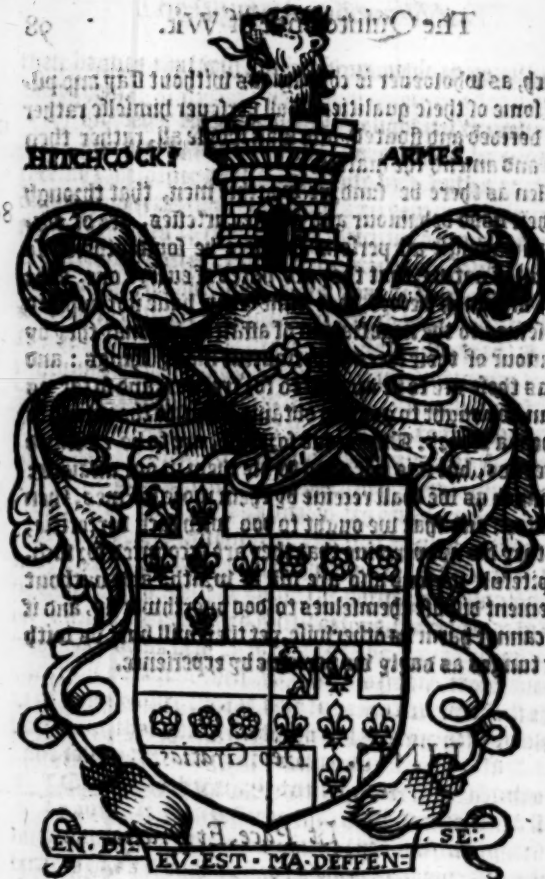
somuch, as whosoever is contented without flay and pil-
 ler of some of these qualities, let all persouer himselte rather
 to be derided and flouted, then to be made all, rather then
 helpe and aming the many.

Euen as there be sundry foolish men, that through their good behaviour and many courtesies, are of estimation amongst all persons, so there be some others of spitefull nature, that they are full of envy, and the firste, amongst others, that since they haue not applied themselves to the negotiation of affaires, yet may they by the fauour of their friends procure many things: and such as these are to be accounted for friends, and in as we can, we ought to get and obtaine them, to the intent to let them a sleaze. The second sort also, are such as are full of frendes, but it is not good to let them in our wayen: for so much as we shall receiue by them more harmes, then benefites: and that we ought to doo with such sort of people, that they be not perceiue that they are accounted for such, for spitefull persons also are full of wrath, and without iudgement direct themselves to doo ouerthrowles, and if they cannot harm us otherinise, yet they will hurt us with their tongues as daily we perceiue by experience.



THis is the end of the first Booke, translated
out of Italian into English. Anno. 1590.

former, as to be seen in the
 far of some of these qualities
 to be better and more than
 ships and more than the
HITCHCOCK **ARMES.**



This is the end of the first Booke, translated
 out of Italian into English. Anno 1700.



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F I N I S.

Captaine *Hibcock*.

THIS faide Captaine *Hibcock* seruing in the Lowe Cuntries, Anno. 1586. with two hundreth Souldiours: brought from thence with this Booke, the second booke of *Sanſcuinos* politick Conceites, which shall be put to the Printing so soon as it is translated out of the Italian into English.